

563 Citla, Guatepec, Chilón, Yajalón, and Petalcingo relations between Indians and Ladinos are more friendly, and the Indians are regarded as milder and more tractable.

181 Of the strongly Indian towns, Cancuc is the most conservative, Chanal the most progressive

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563 In respect to official political organization, these villages are divided according to their importance and the number of their inhabitants, into free municipalities (*municipios libres*) and dependent municipalities (*agencias municipales*). The former are those which have the right to choose their own government, upon which formal administration depends. To this category belong Amatenango, Chanal, Tenejapa, Oxchuc, Ococingo, Chilón, and Bachajón. Until a short time ago the municipal governments of these settlements were composed of Ladinos in the principal posts and of Indians in the subordinate positions. At the present time the government is seeking to reverse this situation so that the Indians have the greater authority; it is for this reason that the governments of the four villages first mentioned are now headed by Indians. This change has brought about marked alterations in certain places in the social equilibrium that before existed between the two ethnic elements which compose the population.

[177] Villages of the latter category are those which depend, in administrative matters, on a free municipality. In these cases authority is represented in the first place by the *agente municipal*, who is named by the central municipal government. This post is always discharged by a Ladino. In most instances the municipal agent compensates for the meagerness of his salary by controlling the sale of rum in the village which he administers. The other members of the municipal government are chosen almost always from the Indian group.

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439 In several of the highland communities, notably Amatenango, Chanal, and, to a much less extent, Tenejapa, the Indian grows (in addition to the universal maize) a certain amount of wheat for export; the Ladinos of Oxchuc cultivate this crop, but in Cancuc, where there are no Ladinos, wheat is not grown. (Wheat is also grown in the Tzotzil towns of Chamula and Huixtán.) Other money crops of the highlands are chickpeas, peas, oranges, and other fruit. Some coffee is grown in San Martín; it is the principal export from Yajalón and Petalcingo. In Bachajón, Citla, Guatepec, and Chilón a principal produce is brown sugar, made locally from sugar cane locally raised. Cancuc is the only village that cultivates cotton commercially; the production in the other communities is insignificant. The local manufacture of loom-woven clothing is rapidly disappearing. Most Tzeltal communities are without beehives, but there is considerable apiculture in Sivacá, and a little beekeeping is also practised in Tenango, Bachajón, and Yajalón. Apparently the bees kept are wild colonies brought to the villages in the sections of hollow log they are made to inhabit. The raising of hogs and poultry is a principal economic recourse in all the Indian settlements. The beef cattle industry has always been in the hands of Ladinos; however, recently the Government, acting through the Centers of Native Education, has sought to stimulate the industry among the Indians.

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241 Concerning the correspondence between the months and the agricultural activities, Emeterio Pineda says:

Moc is the month in which fences should be repaired, and *Olatsi* is that in which the sowing is to be done, no matter what may be the condition of the atmosphere, so that if rain fails or is insufficient or is excessive, nevertheless it may not be done in any other month even though then weather and precipitation permit.

Uch (*Uch*): in this month plants are attacked by ailments and insects, in particular by insects such as plant lice which weaken and destroy them; in the month of *Elack* (*Eluck*) the favorable winds should cure them. But in case they are not favorable, the loss of many plants is sure, as, for example, the potato which neither flowers nor gives a yield. *Nickquin* corresponds with the period of flowering, *Sbalvinquil* with pollinization and *Xchibalvinquil*, *Yoxibalvinquil* and *Xchanibalvinquil* with the three periods of the formation of the seed: that of the pearl, that of the milk and that of the starch.

Pom (*Pom*): in this month honey may be taken from the hives, and the harvest may be carried in. *Mux* represents the beginning of cold, and *Yaxquin* the Christmas season.⁴⁶

[114] O. D. E. Bunge quotes this paragraph but attributes it erroneously to Nuñez de la Vega.⁴⁷ Bunge's publication provides other interesting data on this subject. It may be added that the nineteen-month calendar with close relation to the agricultural year has recently been reported by Weitlaner⁴⁸ for a non-Maya people, the Chinantec, in northern Oaxaca, and for the Mazatec, a people neighboring the Chinantec.⁴⁹

⁴⁶ Emeterio Pineda, 1845, p. 112.

⁴⁷ Bunge, 1935, p. 54.

⁴⁸ Weitlaner, 1936, pp. 197-201.

⁴⁹ Bevan, 1938, p. 5.

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Although it

- 161 has an average of 19 inhabitants per sq. km..
- [241] the southern zone has lands that are suitable
- [631] for agriculture and for irrigation, such as in
- [128] Amatenango. Later I shall discuss the influence of these factors on the uneven economic and social development of the three zones.

161 The figures on Indians are based exclusively on use of the Indian language and
162 so include both monolinguals and bilin-
197 guals. To differentiate each group, however,
191 I have made corrections based on field work as shown in Table 2.

141 The average height of these Indians ranges from 1.55 to 1.60 m. Referring to

(P. 196-B)

114 27) but without touching on social organization.

[101] Study of social organization began in
[122] 1938 when I made my first trip through the region under the auspices of the Carnegie Institution of Washington (Redfield and Villa Rojas, 1939, pp. 107-19). In 1942-44 we spent several periods among the Tzeltal of Oxchuc, establishing camp at Yochib, and published the results soon thereafter (Villa Rojas, 1946, 1947).

Since 1957 various investigations by the universities of Chicago, Harvard, and Stanford have been headed by the anthropologists Sol Tax, Norman A. McQuown, Evon Z. Vogt, Julian Pitt-Rivers, and A. Kimball Romney.

221 SUBSISTENCE PATTERNS AND FOOD HABITS

• 241 The Milpa

Nothing is of greater importance to the Indian than to have a good *milpa*. Three classes of milpas are cultivated: *sijomal*, planted in mid-January and harvested three months later; *nal-aual* or "March milpa" planted in mid-March and harvested toward the end of August; the main milpa, *jabil-caltic* or "milpa of the year," sown between April and May and harvested between November and December. The first two types are most often cultivated in the lower zone of Tierra Caliente, where humidity is favorable.

241 Among the Tzeltal of Oxchuc (Villa
804 Rojas, 1946, pp. 510-39), milpa work begins in February with the measuring of the plot. The measuring rod (*jaubtic*), which presumably corresponds to a *brazada* (the distance between the arms extended), is equivalent to 1.98 m. The area 8 brazadas square takes the name of *tarea* (about 256 sq. m.). The area of the milpa is also computed according to the number of ears of corn needed for seeding; 60 ears of corn are required to fill 1.5 hectares, the average in milpas that we observed.

241 Since the bush is short, only a hatchet
412 (*eche*) is necessary to cut it down. The
CP.199-A}

- 241
[412] machete (*machit*) or the *luk*, a sort of curved machete with a long handle, are the implements needed. The cutting of the grass from the plot where the milpa had been the previous year is *selab*; the cutting of bush grown for three or four years is *sok-uej*. The work of cutting the bush is done by the entire family, including children of seven or eight years old.

- [221] The planting is done between April and
[412] May after the first rains, with a long stick whose tip is hardened by fire or protected by a metal point. The seed must
[242] come from large, healthy ears whose tips have been cut off because they have small
[824] corn. The *olote*, or corncob, is either kept or thrown away at a distance to avoid its being used as fuel, for this would hurt the milpa which then would produce ears with broken kernels.

241 The task of planting is a very delicate
462 matter, to be performed after fasting and
785 sexual abstinence. It is exclusively a man's
834 affair. A great banquet is served at noon.

241 generally outdoors as the hut interiors are
594 small, to the friends and neighbors who will participate as helpers. Sometimes as

- [496] many as 10 men help to plant a friend's milpa. The meal is offered "precisely when the sun stops for a moment midway on its run and the doors of the Church of Heaven are opened, from where the quality of the banquet is observed." This is *s-uelil-abal* ('meal of the planting').

241 When things are properly done, the meal
262 consists of a number of items. First the
272 *atole* (*pajal-ul*) is served, which is slightly
574 sour and sweetened with *panela*. As "companion" to this atole are tamales (*chenkul-ua*), which are prepared with cornmeal and ground beans. It is said that both things are to be served together so that "the seed may penetrate deep into the ground."

241 After this preliminary snack comes what is
252 considered the main course for each person: a hard-boiled egg in a thick reddish
262 broth prepared from dough and ground
594 chile dissolved in water; a large tortilla;
272

[P.199-B]

BEST CONTINUED ON PAGE 201-A)

- 241 boiled beans; other tamales (*petul*), which
 252 are made from dough and whole beans;
 262 and finally, still more atole. The atole is
 594 served not in individual *picaras* but in two
 292 or three large ones (*batzil-booch*), which
 are passed from person to person. The same
 [415] is done with the other foods; they are
 served in one or two large pots (*mucul
 pulato*) out of which everyone serves him-
 self. This banquet is given only on the first
 241 day of the planting; if other days are re-
 594 quired, the milpero himself does the plant-
 ing.

241 Since weeds grow rapidly during the
 rain season, the milpa must be hoed twice
 before it reaches maturity. For this the luk
 or coa is used and also the hoe (*asron*), the
 same one used to break the soil before plant-
 ing. The first weeding is done in June, the
 second between July and August. Women
 [462] help their husbands in this chore and some-
 [566] times do it entirely themselves, since the
 [464] men are in the habit of leaving for Tapa-
 chula to work as peons on the coffee plan-
 tations.

244 Also in the milpa beans of several varie-
 ties are planted: *chuil-chenek* (or *ibes*, ac-
 cording to the Ladinos); *botil*, a large com-
 mon bean; *xakil-chenek* or *frijol de vara*;
 and the *x-luumil-chenek* or *frijol de la
 tierra*, thus called because it is a creeping
 plant.

Chile is planted on a separate lot, 15-20
 m. square. The planting is done during the
 first weeks of March, in alternate years so
 that it will not coincide with the year when
 the people of Cancuc plant cotton. Chile
 planted by the people of Oxchuc is *dzajal-
 ik* or red chile.

241 Toward the end of August, the first fruits
 are ready (*unimajam* or *filote*, according to
 Ladinos). These are received with great
 joy by the families which are by then lack-
 [242] ing food. From each plant, which provides
 two or three *filotes*, the farthest down is
 picked to let the other two grow bigger.
 [252] These *filotes* are boiled without salt and
 [263] are eaten whole, including the husks.
 [262] [P. 201-A]

- 241 Between September and October, when the tender ears are ready, some are torn loose to prepare atoles and tamales.

Toward the middle of October, when the milpa has reached maturity, all hands proceed to the task of the *dobla*, folding or breaking the stem of the plant so that the ear dries and may later be put into the barn. This is an easy task, in which men, women, and children take part.

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[592]

The harvest takes place in November and December with the participation of the whole family; it is a joyful task which compensates for all the moments of anxiety in the previous months, when subsistence was scarce. The produce from the milpa is gathered in large nets and later stored in a corner of the house or in some improvised structure nearby. The crop is measured by *zontles*, units of 400 ears, which are formed by counting the ears by fives; two ears are taken in one hand and three in the other until 400 are reached. The family of five members which manages to harvest from 15 to 20 *zontles* considers itself happy, since that much will last them the entire year, consuming 20 ears a day plus feeding one or two hogs and 10 or 12 chickens.

[251]

[804]

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The milpa also produces various squashes, manioc (*dzinté*), and peanuts, which the Indians call *caxlan-chenek* ('Ladino's bean').

- 243 Exceptional among the Tzeltal is the cultivation of wheat in Amatenango. There the small valley and a creek have favored its development.

184

241 The most important ceremonies take place immediately after planting. They entrust the germination of the seed to the care of God, of the "thirteen holders of Heaven," and of "Tatik Jesucristo." The "thirteen holders of Heaven" refer to the principal saints who are mentioned in the prayers. The ceremonies consist in offerings of prayers and incense before the crosses kept in caves belonging to each paraje, and in one *bikit' mixa* ('small Mass'), which the *cabildos* and *principales* of the

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[778]
[782]

[P. 201-B]

- 241 paraje perform before the altar of the
782 church in the ceremonial center. All prayers
796 are said in Tzeltal; some are Christian in
[778] origin, others entirely pagan. This prayer
[177] I recorded in 1944:

241 Here we come to bring you your food, to
796 light your candles, to play the harp, to play the
782 guitar. Here we come to perform your fiesta,
539 so you may be happy, so you will not abandon
[534] us.

We have already planted the milpas; the seed is already in the soil. Father, do not forsake us; let the rains come properly; let them not be abundant nor deficient. Let there be a little sunshine and a few clouds. Let the soil be happy.

Father, let no hail come; let no wind come; let no locust come; let no harmful animals come; let no robbers come, lest they steal from us and leave us in poverty.

Father, let the year come well; let the corn turn out well; let the beans turn out well. Let there be no sickness; let there be no sorrow. Father, the mouthful has already entered; the word had already entered.

The word "mouthful" refers to all the gifts, "word" to all the prayer.

- 796 A similar ceremony is the *mukul mixa*
[621] ('great Mass'), organized by members of
[776] each calpul. Each calpul has its own patron
[622] saint and its own chiefs. For this ceremony
[534] many more people gather, for representatives and musicians (flute, drum, harp, and guitar) come from all places. The candles offered as "mouthfuls" are greater in number and size.

- 778 Household ceremonies follow as the head
78 of the household, in private, prepares the small home altar, where the cross which
[834] protects the home is always found. He adorns it with *juncia* and five candles; he says appropriate prayers at 6 o'clock in the morning or at midday, as he observes fasting and sexual abstinence. These family prayers may be repeated occasionally, depending on the condition of the milpa.

- 241 At the beginning of the month called
782 [P. 202-A]

- 241 chin-uch (May 20-June 8), an offering is
782 made to the supernatural being which
reigns over it. The natives have vague no-
[825] tions of the nature of this being. They say
that uch is the name of a small insect which
spoil the pozole and, also, of the *tlacuache*
or *zarigueya* which often destroys the mil-
pa. The offering, hung at the entrance of
the hut, consists of a ball of pozole wrapped
in plantain leaf, a red chile, a tortilla, an
ear of corn, and a little stick like the kind
used to turn the ear cooking over hot coals.

241 All objects are minute in size. When the
782 offering achieves its purpose, on the com-
787 pletion of a 20-day period, the atmosphere
becomes hazy "as if there were smoke." It is
explained that "the chin-uch burned its
house," which forecasts a favorable sun for
development of the milpa. If such a sign
should not appear on the indicated date or
at the end of the next month, of *mukul-uch*
(June 9-28), the forecast is ominous and
indicates that the rains will be excessive,
greatly harming the milpa.

778 Another *mukul-mixa* is performed in Ox-
796 chuc, in homage to the hill called Ikal-Ajau,
[184] near the ceremonial center, of which the
Indians say "it is a living hill." The name of
the hill is that of the ancient hill worshipped
by the Oxchuequeños. Nuñez de la Vega
(in Becerra, 1933, p. 293) reports: "Those
of Oxchuc and other towns of Los Llanos
venerate very much the idol which they call
Icalajau, which means principal Negro or
[789] lord of the Negroes." This Mass, performed
the first days of June, prevents locusts and
other plagues from coming.

241 Once the crop is in the granary, other
78 family prayers are said before the household
cross, to give thanks for the good received
and to petition the supernatural beings to
protect the grain from insects and rodents.

Other Subsistence Resources

262 Other food resources include raising
235 chickens and pigs. A family averages about
[231] 10 chickens, using the eggs as money when
[437] [P. 202-8]

- 804 *Shucubil* ("codo"): Distance from the elbow to the end of the middle finger extended.
Jaub ("brazo" or "brazada"): Distance between the ends of both extended arms.
Yankabal (equivalent to the meter): Distance from the armpit to the extended middle finger of the opposite hand.

[484] The "legua" is also used and is equivalent to the distance a man can walk during one hour (approximately 5 km.).

Of square measures used for the milpa, the most common is the *tarea* (equivalent to a square of 8 jaubs). This is equivalent to a square of 16 m., which is very close to the *mecate* used by the Yucatec Maya.

[415] The standard most often used for measuring maize or beans is the *almud*, which among the Tzeltal of Calucuc, Oxchuc, and Tenejapa, is equivalent to 4 *quartillas* (each *quartilla* is equivalent to 8 large *borcelanas*). The *borcelana* is an earthen cup or pot, which can be either small or large. The large one is equivalent to $\frac{1}{2}$ kg. of maize, the small one to $\frac{1}{4}$ kg. of maize. The *borcelana* is used to measure chile.

ECONOMICS

• 241 *Division of Labor and Specialization*

462 Care of the milpa is men's work, but sometimes women help with light tasks such as weeding or harvesting. Seeding does not require great effort, but it is considered a job for men exclusively. Women may participate in chile seeding—but in the planting only; the holes in the ground can be made only by men, who use a *macana* or planting stick. Cutting and carrying firewood are tasks for men, but women may perform them when men cannot. Women can handle an axe or machete skillfully. Fetching water, from river or fountain, is work for women. It is considered inappropriate and ridiculous that a man carry a *cantaro* on the hip. Laundry and all kitchen duties are performed by women, as well as spinning, knitting, sewing, embroidering, and making of earthenware. Manufacture

[P 209-A]

[Text continues on p. 210-B]

462 All activities related to curing of disease are also performed by specialized men, though in some places women occasionally participate. Help at childbirth is always assigned to experienced female relatives; there are no professional midwives—nor professional marriage brokers.

[844]
[759]
[584]

463 Specialization is little developed. Only in the largest centers are there a few individuals concentrated on carpentry, tailoring, trading, masonry, or some other activity. The families in Tenango and Amatenango who carry on the ceramics industry also

[P. 210-C]

463 handle the milpa. It is rare to find an Indian
241 who does not have a milpa since this is the
work that ensures his existence.

Property Rights

423 This is a matter that varies according to
613 the degree of acculturation reached by the
[197] community. In the most conservative groups
[81] (Oxchuc, Cancuc, Tenejapa, Tenango)
there are still family property rights, but
they seem to depend on lineage rather than
on the immediate family (Villa Rojas,
1947, ch. 19). As these lineages are patri-
562 lineal, a woman does not count when inher-
428 itance is involved. She can own her parcel
of land only when she has saved the money
to buy it, but this is not frequent. Any man
can claim lands that previously belonged
to his lineage; it is enough to give back
the money paid for them two or three gen-
erations ago. Of course, he has to prove by
witnesses or documents that those lands
were the property of his lineage.

127 According to a document dated 1861,
423 which I found in the possession of the
613 Gómez Ichiloks (they belong to the Gómez
614 clan and to the Ichilok lineage), residents
of the paraje of Tzajalchen of the municipio
of Oxchuc, this property system seems to be
very ancient. The document is of special
interest.

DOCUMENTO DE TIERRAS DE LOS
GÓMEZ ICHILOK

000
Por pedimento de los ciudadanos Domingo
Gómez Ichilok, Tomás Gómez Ichilok, otro
Tomás Gómez Ichilok, Miguel Gómez Ichilok,
Diego Gómez Ichilok, otro, Domingo Gómez
Ichilok, otro Diego Gómez Ichilok y su hijo
Diego Gómez Ichilok y por último su hijo
menor Manuel Gómez Ichilok, y como antiguamente
se acostumbra en este pueblo que segun
los hermanos de una propia familia se les
demarca un retazo de terreno de ejido para que
en lo sucesivo no haya pleitos con los vecinos
como suele suceder, nosotros los Gobernadores,
Auxiliares, Justicias, Escribanos y Testigos,
pasamos al paraje denominado Tzajalchen a

[P. 211-A]

^ /For a translation by H.R.A.F. of
^ this document, see category 116,
p. 225-C--Analyst/

421 her own clothes and her backstrap loom.
586 A widow may continue living in the hut
and use its equipment only if she has a son.
Otherwise, she must leave the house and
return to her father's home because the
land will be claimed by the brothers or other
male relatives of the deceased husband.

Production and Consumption Groups

592 The family controls all matters related
433 to production and consumption. The head
• 241 of the house, with the help of his wife and
other members of the family, takes care of
farming and producing the basic food crops.

462 In the most conservative communities, the
496 old custom of planting by a cooperative
241 group, composed of relatives and friends, is
still practiced. This is a task for men exclu-
sively, since much skill and strength are re-
quired to dig up the ground in carefully
spaced, perfectly straight rows. The owner
of the milpa has to fast and observe sexual
abstinence before starting the planting.

[783] Only the family shares in the rest of the
[834] labor, according to their sex: men take care
462 of tasks requiring much effort, women per-
592 form those such as tending domestic ani-
[476] mals. Help from relatives and neighbors
may also be asked occasionally, to build up
fences around the orchard, to open or im-
prove irrigation systems, etc.

Trade and Markets

438 Tenango and Amatenango concentrate on
producing ceramics and trading them to
neighboring municipios. Other municipios
have a very limited commercial activity:
Tenejapa exports a few sleeping mats; Ox-
chuc, ropes, nets, and pita bags; Cancuc,
wooden combs; Bachajon, clay toys. These
Tzeltal villages have no specialized mer-
chants as do Zinacantan and Chamula.

443 There are a few markets where a large
number of people meet regularly: Teopisca,
in the south, has a Sunday market where
natives from Aguacatenango, Amatenango,
and Pinola meet. In the central part of the
region they meet every Sunday at the mar-
[P. 212-B]

787 been taken away by the local authorities
776 and sent to the Indians' Affairs Office in
' San Cristobal.

LIFE CYCLE

842 *Pregnancy and Childbirth*
183

843 The strongest desire of every Tzeltal couple
[833] is to create a numerous family, preferably
boys. The relationship between sexual inter-
course and pregnancy is well understood
among the Indians. They know that preg-
nancy lasts nine months and they keep a
good count of it. On the other hand, there
are ideas about the possibility of the woman
being influenced by old men or "the owners
of the nagual," who can interrupt pregnancy
and change the fetus from one woman to
another. This is why a woman who thinks
she is pregnant for three or four months
suddenly realizes that she carries nothing
any more, while another one, maybe her
neighbor, finds herself in advanced preg-
nancy, giving birth a few months later. It
is to be stressed, however, that these
changes can take place only among married
women.

844 In conservative villages (Tenejapa, Ox-
[81] chuc, Cancuc) there is no professional mid-
wife. Children are delivered by the oldest
women in the neighborhood.

[757] When labor begins, the first thing is to
[237] give the mother a beverage made of pow-
dered opossum tail dissolved in boiling wa-
ter. It is very common for Indians to have a
dry tail hanging next the fireplace. The
woman kneels at labor, facing the midwife.
The husband's belt or the woman's rebozo
is tied very tightly around the upper part of
the abdomen to prevent the child from "go-
ing up again." The mother can also help
herself by seizing a rope tied to the roof, or
taking firm hold of any post of the house.
The umbilical cord is chopped with a ma-
chete or cut with scissors, supported on an
ear of corn. This ear is afterwards used as
seed and is considered very fertile.

[241] When labor has finished, the mother is
[824] given another hot beverage of pepper,
[757] [P 223-B]

CHAPTER XI

PINES

T
137 Our trail wound through low bush and second growth. Here and there on hills were islands of high forest, but the level ground formerly under cultivation was now covered with an impenetrable network of low bushes and thorny brambles.

• T
241 Indian agriculture is very simple. Towards the end of the dry season the Indian selects a place in the forest for his corn field, and makes an extensive clearing. All trees and branches are cut in small pieces, and left to dry in the baking sun. When thoroughly dry they set fire to them, and in a short while the ground is clear, leaving it as clean as a floor.

Then the Indian plants his corn in holes made with a wooden digging stick. He sows just before the rainy season sets in and waters his field, and thereafter he has nothing to do until it is time to harvest. The ground is never broken, and no fertilizer is used.

This method is very wasteful. Three to four plantings can be made in the same clearing, after which the soil is burnt out and exhausted. Then a new place must be found for the field.

T
161 In this way great tracts gradually become waste land. Today the population is scarce, and the damage is therefore comparatively small; but before the Conquest the population must have been much greater, judging by the many and large ruined cities. In those days
PY
174 the Maya undoubtedly first cultivated the lands near his town, and
166 as the soil became exhausted, moved farther away. Then one fine
241 day the distance from field to town became so great, the labour of cultivating the distant field and transporting the crops so excessive, that he was forced to look for new country. Very likely the inhabitants of one city would invade the territory of a neighbouring city
PY
[721] in their search for cultivable land and this would result in war.

PY
172 Dates inscribed on monuments show us that the Maya for some
174 reason abandoned the southern part of their country around the
131 year 600 A. D. After 630 A. D., we find no more dates in this,
167 the Old Empire area, as it has been called; but about the same time
361 dated monuments appear in northern Yucatan.

A general exodus from the southern area must have started at this time, and little by little, tribe after tribe went north, leaving their magnificent cities to a few stragglers—eventually to be claimed

The country near the village has been farmed out long ago; now the fields lie at a distance in the jungle. After every concentration, the Indians drift away again like blown smoke. Today most of the houses are rotten, sagging, with gaping doors. The paths are grown up with weeds, huge, old moss-covered crosses lean at crazy angles by the main trails. Over all broods the frame of the sacked church, huge stone walls with rank vegetation around them, and a twisted, unhealthy oak-tree on one side, like a composition by Piranesi.

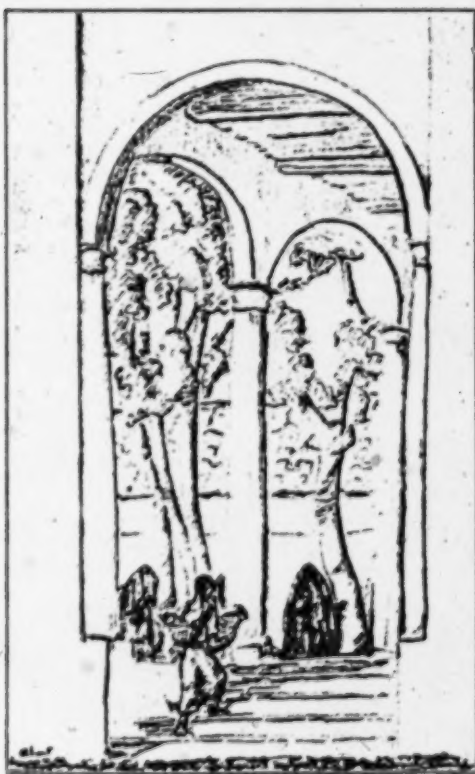


FIG. 277.—Ocosingo, Chis. Colonnade on the Plaza.

Ocosingo Valley and its neighbours furnish a transition towards the real highlands. The valleys are fertile and green, ringed in with ranges of steep, rich hills. The soil in the lower parts is light; here palms and pines grow together, with a luxuriance of rich grass that makes an ideal grazing country. Through the valleys are large and small ranches of Ladinos and old Spanish families. The bigger ones, such as San Antonio, Quechil, and Achin in the Ocosingo Valley, San José Reforma and El Real beyond the San José Pass, and Tecojá in its own valley, each has a village of Indian labourers attached to them. The natives' houses are rather

better than the average, and often tile-roofed (fig. 278). The Indians of each ranch function more or less as a tribe, governed by the owner of the ranch, conducting their own worship at its chapel. A few Indians own scattered, independent farms. Sivacá (*sivak ha'*, "Gunpowder Water"), near Ocosingo on the trail to Tenango is a true village, self-governing, with its own *alcalde*, under the supervision of a Ladino *maestro*. All these groups come together at

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796 certain times of the year for ceremonies, such as those at Chakalchib, and formerly at Campomtik, to be mentioned later. The Bachajon hold their own ceremonies at their village.

141 Physically, the Tzeltal, like all the Mayance Indians, are short, averaging probably about 160 centimeters (5 feet, 4 inches) for the
142 men, and slightly less for the women. Their build is slender, with
147 stringy muscles, except for a good development of the calves. Hands and feet are small and well-formed. Their slenderness is deceptive, for their great strength lies in their legs, back, and neck, seen in their ability to carry loads of 45 kilograms (100 lbs.) and upwards, all day up and down hill without undue fatigue. Taking in a tump-line a load under which they cannot rise from the floor.

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FIG. 278.—Finca Tecujá, Chis. Houses of Indians attached to the Finca.

147 without help, they will carry it with ease. The lifting power of their
142 arms is less than that of Americans or Ladinos. Their headform is
[304] meso- to brachycephalic, and the cranium is small. Deformation in the shape of a marked depression just above the juncture of the hair-line and the forehead, due to the use of a tump-line from early infancy, may be responsible for the conical appearance of the top of the skull. Noses are, on the whole, mesorrhine and small, with little appearance of the famous "Maya Nose," and then in a narrow form, lacking the width of nostril seen in pre-historic figures. Prognathism is slight, alveolar prognathism being the more common, particularly in children. Hair form is straight, coarse, and black. Gray hair or baldness are very unusual. Body hair, as far as could be observed,

000 An excellent discussion of the character of the neighbouring Indians of Guatemala, which applies well to these, by one who has lived long among them, is found in Sapper's "Der Charakter der Mittelamerikanisch Indianer."

648 Before passing on to the native culture, a little must be said
771 of the outside influences that do
793 so much to mould it—the Church, the Government, and the Hacienda. The first of these occupies a very curious position indeed. While the Indians are ostensibly Christian, as will be shown later, in many ways they are still unconverted. It may be said, briefly, that they acknowledge two antagonistic worships. Of these, the Christian has publicly the upper hand. The Priests, accordingly, wield a tremendous influence among them, and did even more so in the past, when supported by the State. Our experience on this trip was that, on the whole, this influence was intelligently and beneficially used. To the Priests the Indians confide their troubles; to them they accord the greatest honour on the occasions of their visits to the villages. Yet, at the same time, the Indians conceal from them one-half of their worship, knowing them to be sworn to stamp it out.

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648 The Hacienda system has
• 241 caused the formation of many
361 small villages, as has been said
466 above. In other cases, as with the Bachajón on the Encanto property, the Indians living at large on the distant lands of the



FIG. 280—El Encanto, Chis. Bachajón girls.



FIG. 281—El Encanto, Chis. Bachajón man and boy.

GOVERNMENT LABOUR

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hacienda, are held liable for a certain amount of labour each year, in lieu of rent. Should one of them fail to do his share, the owners are considered free to arrest him and bring him in. While so working, they are paid, largely in credit at the local store, and fed. On the haciendas with regular village establishments, and in other parts of Mexico, this system has worked smoothly in the past, because the workers found themselves cared and provided for, corn laid up for the future, money or credit ready for festive occasions, and so forth. But the more independent Bachajones seem amply able to take care of themselves, and do not relish working for a ranch miles from their homes, even when they acknowledge its ownership of the jungle in which they dwell.

The payment of labour is seen again in relations of the Indians with the Government, which holds them liable to road-mending and municipal work, as a



FIG. 222—El Encanto, Chis. Bachajon men.

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form of tax. Commonly, crimes are also punished by fines of such work. The system is irregularly applied. For instance, some Indians from Cancun, who were carrying part of our outfit to San Cristóbal, were held up for two hours road-work at one point. Every Indian that came that way was similarly held. Starr (1902) reports the same experience. In San Cristóbal the right to collect any Indian for labor has

been so abused as materially to harm the trade of the town. Quite serious crimes, as long as only committed by one Indian against another, are relatively lightly punished in this manner. It may be said, as far as concerns the tax-*corvée*, that the right of the Indians to go home again before staying away long enough to cause their crops to suffer is generally recognized, and the Indians themselves know when it is time to announce that they must leave. The whole system, however, leads to a certain amount of hard feeling on the Indians' part.

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Interwoven with these specific factors must be considered the Ladino's general attitude towards the Indian. To him, especially the town-dweller, the natives are barbarous in all respects, legiti-

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648 mate butt of any joke, contemptible, and with no inherent rights. The native ceremonies and beliefs, even when closely parallel to their own, are considered mere ignorant superstitions. Only what is definitely Catholic is respected. Small shrines may be desecrated at will. Behind all this, mindful of past uprisings, lies a certain amount of definite fear of the subject people. There are, of course, many exceptions, especially among the more intelligent ranchers who from their patriarchal position or intimate relations have come to understand the natives as human beings.

829 The effect of all this on the Indian is suspicion of the ruling class, reluctance to impart information, distrust of friendly overtures. If one hails an Indian in the streets of a town, he will frequently run away. Once convinced, however, that an individual actually likes them, and is genuinely interested in them, their response is warm. We received many small favours and acts of friendship in notoriously hostile villages.

[123]

• 241 In their culture these people
[181] belong to the general type characteristic of all Southern Mexico and at least the nearer parts of Guatemala. They depend
[433] primarily upon farming for their livelihood, with corn as the staple crop. Calabashes, melons, beans, tobacco, bananas, and cotton are raised. The farming is
[291] carried on by the same wasteful
[301]
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[178] "milpa system" that has been described in Chapter XI, the old Maya method that was eventually responsible for the abandonment of many cities. In the case of the Bachajón, it has already become
[166] one cause for deserting their villages. The chief food is dried corn boiled with lime and ground by the women on the stone metates which were described in dealing with the Indians of San Martín Pajapa. It then may be baked on a flat griddle, making tortillas, or kept to drink with water as *posole*. The one universal tool and weapon is the machete, varying in form from tribe to tribe, but always made by Collins & Co., of Hartford—part of one of the most amazing industries in the world.

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FIG. 255—El Bani, Chié. Tzeltal girls.

778 paper, brightened with colour added by a cigarette package, a label from a tin of beets in a deep red, a joke in German about the fall of the mark, of which the prevailing tone was pure viridian, and a page of advertising from the Saturday Evening Post. We gave this family a chromo of a saint, which was immediately framed [123] with a sort of wooden box, and set up beside the cross. The table below was used for laying odds and ends on, such as the spindle and a couple of empty aguardiente bottles.

782 Incense, *pom*, and candles, both extensively used by the Indians
788 today, had a place in the old Maya ritual similar to that of the
177 Catholic Church.
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793 The Priest is an important figure to the Indians. They come to him with respect to tell him their troubles, and receive him into their villages with rejoicing. At the same time, there is no doubt that they deliberately hoodwink him as to the orthodoxy of their faith.

796 Although it includes several non-Christian elements, a description of the fiesta observed at Tecojá will give a fair idea of the Tzeltal's church observances. Tecojá ranch has a village of about twenty houses attached to it. The fiesta was held on the twenty-second and twenty-third of June. By custom, the ranch had to allow the Indians this time off, as well as accepting the lowered efficiency on the following "cold grey dawn of the morning after." The owners had, moreover, to provide the rum for the whole celebration, in this case, two demi-johns.

[794] The ranch chapel was thrown open and decorated with fir branches and streamers. The proceedings were in charge of two older men, called *caporales*, who were distinguished by a cross-belt-
ing of red handkerchiefs. One house was set aside for the celebrations, in front of which was a table and three triangular, crimson banners with gold edges. By these drumming and flute-playing went on irregularly. Here was the official dispensary for rum, which was given out by the *caporales*. Inside the house, a palm-thatched one with stick walls, about fifteen feet square, some thirty
[534] Indians, men and women, were squatting against the walls. There was an orchestra of a guitar and a mouth-organ, occasionally augmented by the piper, who would wander in from outside. This individual, although most amazingly drunk, managed to maintain his musical ability until he fell asleep. The tune they played was like a rather wistful jig, but the time was lively. To this four couples
[533] danced, the men facing the women, with a shuffling step not unlike
[535] waltzing. They kept very much in one place, but occasionally changed sides. The dancing was evidently a serious affair. This type is called in Spanish *zapatea*, in Tzeltal, *ahk'Out*.

- 133 green wall away to the westward. Midway, there is a break in the slope, with a dramatic splash of deep red cliffs, in violent contrast to the fertile grass and soft tones of the limestone outcrops. Only the upper end of this valley belongs to Tenango, so little, in fact that the inhabitants cannot practice the usual, sprawling milpa system of agriculture. The very yards are planted, and the fields start almost in the village, radiating from it in a close patchwork as in Europe. Everything is fenced with roughly split planks set on end, and fences line the road into Tenango where it passes through the cornfields. The houses with their yards lie close about an open plaza in which are the grey bones of a ruined church, a
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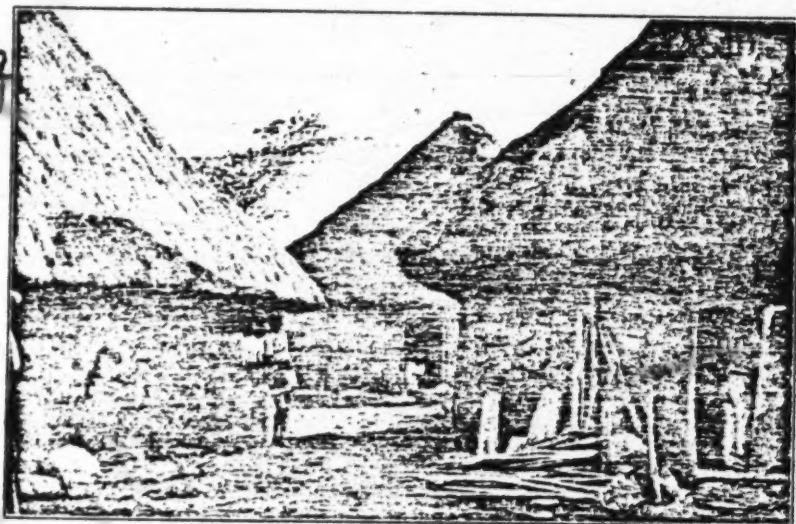


FIG. 312—Tenango, Chi. Houses.

- 361 whitewashed, palm-roofed native one, and the shack of a Cabildo for the Maestro. The streets are lined with useful trees, oranges, gourds, and a few bananas, which do poorly at this altitude.
- 245
- 363
- 342 The houses are square and well-made with walls of broad, split planks covered with mud (figs. 311-312). The roofs are steeply thatched and pyramidal, or have a short ridge along which broken pots are laid after the manner of tiles. The frame-work differs from that described in the last chapter in having cross-pieces laid between the plates. There are no chimneys, the smoke is allowed to seep through the thatch, keeping out vermin and making the roofs steam like a clam-bake.
- [354]

286 and often have no fringe. We were told that it was impossible to
123 see a woman weaving at that time, but by persistent stalking the
126 writer finally managed to locate a girl at work, whom he observed
286 and sketched from behind a bush. The women here were so consistently shy that no doubt she would have rolled up her loom, which was of just the same type as the one seen at Sivacá, and fled into the house had she known she was observed. Our procession through this very pretty village, too, was a serious affair—distinguished strangers being shown around town by the mayor—and had none of the cheerful joking and general *bonhomie* that produced such friendliness and good results at Sivacá.

- 241 Something more should be said about the agriculture here. Ordinarily, Indians go out to choose their own land in the bush and



FIG. 319.—Tenango, Chi. La Farge drawing pottery.

- 241 plant it with little cultivation, placing the corn close together. Here each family has its land assigned to it by the council. As the same field must be planted year after year, the hills of corn are widely spaced, and the ground is turned over as deeply as possible by means of heavy hoes, *ak'en*, purchased in San Cristóbal. As was said, everything is fenced as much as possible. When some of our pack animals got loose in a field, the excitement was intense. In the yards of the houses they raise corn, beans, and a plant related to tobacco. This
[417] plant grows nearly as tall as a man. The leaf is rubbed on their legs to cure fatigue. It is carried with lime in a small gourd and offered and accepted for chewing with much the same bowing and formalities as obtained among our ancestors when offering snuff.

From Cancuc the road falls slowly away, then it climbs to the steep side of the ridge and at last dips perceptibly to a covered bridge over a narrow ravine. All along on both sides little corn-fields alternate with second growth. Ahead, the same great palisade that we saw from Tenango rises in a green wall, patched with fields and broken here and there by outcrops of cliffs and hanging valleys. We passed a dribbling of traffic, Indians on foot, and at the bridge met a family of Mexicans noisily eating a picnic lunch. The ravine was deep, rock-walled, with a roaring stream in the shadows of the bottom. From the other side of it the palisade rose immediately, looking almost perpendicular and indefinitely high to us as we contemplated it. The road assumed a stiff grade, rising in a series of zig-zags that gained painfully to the top. Straight up, almost like a ruled line, lay the Indian trail, taking no account of the twists and turns of the road. Our carriers from Cancuc, who took on the cargo that the Tenango men had carried the day before, had gone up that fearsome climb. We tried it, but the horses slid and fell back on their haunches, and we ourselves could barely keep our footing. So we continued along the road, turning and turning, seeming never to gain, and fearing that our animals would never make it. The heat of the sun was thrown back by the hillside and the road.

We toiled on. Low growth and brush on the side of the road gave no shade. The dust rose high. The air, for all the heat, began to have a pleasant crispness that reminded us of high altitudes in other countries. Then we smelt a familiar smell which we ignored until its persistent recurrence forced us to look, see, and believe—that blackberries grow wild in Chiapas! The event of the next hours amused Lazaro greatly, for here in Mexico we found ourselves among familiar northern flowers and wild fruits, buttereups, dandelions, wild roses, blackberries, strawberries, all strange to him. We passed an Indian farm, stuck into a tiny hanging valley, where peach trees and alligator pears were growing together in the corn-field.

At the top of the pass in a shallow V-shaped cut, the barometer read 2,100 meters, a climb of 600 meters—about 1,900 feet—in two hours.

The country changed beyond here to steep ravines, high cliffs, rushing, cold brooks, and tall, dark fir trees clothing the rocks. The tilled fields disappeared, the scattered houses, and stick fences. It was a wild, shaggy country—a perfect setting, we thought, for the home of the rough Tenejapeños that we had seen along the road.

Near evening, a road forked off to the right, leading to a split in a wall of high cliffs through which we could see, already dark with

361 Amatenango lies in an open valley. It is estimated at three
342 hundred houses, each in a fenced yard of good size, and shaded with
351 fruit trees. The houses are large and well built, of mud and grass
245 thatch, with porches. The small church and Town Hall are tiled-
346 roof and stuccoed. The fields, which lie close around the town, and
344 the gardens in the town itself are watered by a stream brought down
• 241 a very pretty, roaring flume from higher land behind the village.
312 The irrigation system is fairly elaborate, and is unique in this area
as far as we know.

323 The pottery, which is their chief product, is almost all of one
shape, a sphere, with three handles and a narrow bottle-neck with a
flat lip. The decoration does not vary. Both shape and design, how-

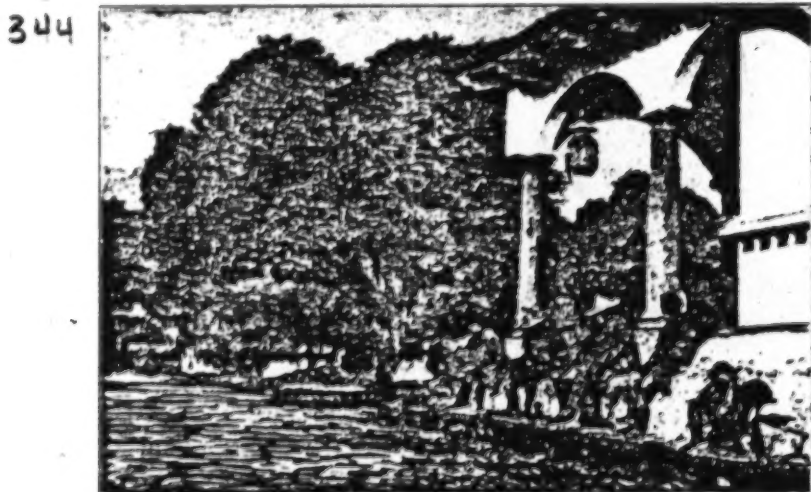


FIG. 333.—Tenejapa, Chis. Indians at the Town Hall.

323 ever, are of considerable charm. The polish is fine and smooth, giving
an even golden-red colour all over, with the decoration in a deep,
reddish brown. No such fine, finished work is done by other tribes in
the area. The pots are baked by placing them on a rectangle of
boards, two or more meters square, around a hot fire. The woman
in charge turns them until they are done (fig. 333). These pots are
[443] carried by the men as far as San Cristóbal, where they are redis-
[442] tributed, and to Nentón in Guatemala. Their industry is sufficient
to enable them to maintain mules for carrying their goods, although
both men and beasts are equally loaded.

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A culture, under certain conditions, during a period of time can be said to be an open system in a state of stable but moving equilibrium: that is to say, it maintains a boundary, accepts inputs and produces outputs at approximately equal rates, and changes continuously but gradually in internal structure.

The concept of equilibrium is one way to talk about the constraints which make behavior congruent with beliefs. Given a constantly changing ecological setting due to an expanding population and a changing man-land ratio, the stability of the system depends on the adequacy of existing institutions to handle conflict and of shared understandings to explain events. Movement stems from the tension between individual and social goals and the adaptations to bring them into closer harmony. The basic condition for the kind of change characteristic of a moving equilibrium is that conflict is contained within the community.

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I have organized the data to clarify features maintaining equilibrium and to show the direction in which the society is moving. First I describe formal, prescribed behavior for each institutional complex and relate it to the beliefs that underlie it. Following each of these chapters I analyze strategies formulated in response to changes coming from within or outside the community. The formal behavior providing a framework for continuity is related to place spirits in Chapter 1, to economic activities in Chapter 2, to customs and rituals in the family and neighborhood in Chapters 4 and 5, to civil and religious government in Chapters 7 and 8. Changing strategies are related to economic activities in Chapter 3, to social relations as revealed in curing practices in Chapter 6, and to political relations in Chapter 9.

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Implicit in the organization is an ordering of institutions from most static to most dynamic. In the economy, agricultural technology has been stabilized at the colonial level of adaptation at which the wooden plow, hoe, and machete were added to, but did not displace, the digging stick, while in pottery manufacture, both techniques and products have remained unchanged. The organization of work groups remains limited to the household except for the introduction of cooperatives in recent years. In domestic institutions there has been an adaptation to living in a compact settlement with the emphasis on the bilateral kinship group.

Spirits and Places

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ties to the center. They register births and deaths in the township center, but they do not have any representation in the cabildo. The populations have no identification with Indian subgroups, speak Spanish, and are oriented to the regional rather than the local economic center. The plantations remaining in the area, classified as *ranchos* in the national census, employ Indians from the center. Their only relationship to the central authority is to get help in recruiting additional laborers. Recruitment of labor is no longer coercive as it was prior to the 1930s when the low wage rate could not attract the help needed. Announcements of the need for workers are made by the president on the loudspeaker system of the town, and men voluntarily go to the plantations.

SPIRIT DOMAINS

The link between people and place is through the media of the spirits (*Eulelenik*) of persons and of locale. The relationship is maintained through a set of rules governing the behavior among spirits of people and of places. These rules derive from myths and stories of encounters which define the character of the spirits in each of the domains. Danger is localized in a series of caves which are avoided. Benevolent, or guardian, spirits inhabit a different set of sites, where ceremonies are conducted that maintain the well-being of the individual and of the community. By locating and circumscribing places of danger and guardianship, the members of the community can supplicate helpful spirits and avoid evil; they are delivered from fear of the unknown and provided with a rationale for dealing with fear of the known.

The places where spirits meet are outlined in Table 3. The first group includes spirits which are supplicated, the second, dangerous spirits which are avoided or approached only by powerful persons.

The house spirits. The spirits of inhabitants and of the house meet at the center post at the rear wall of the house. The spirit of the house lives in this post. Those who claim to have seen the house spirit say he is a small Ladino child. He is capricious, and if he is not happy, he may admit the evil spirits who will eat the souls of the inmates. His appe-

Chapter 2

Traditional Economic Activities

The traditional occupation of every adult man is working in the milpa and of every adult woman, making pottery. The fiction is maintained that they do this work, even if they are actually engaged fulltime in some other activity. In response to the census question, "What is the work of the man or woman?" men answered universally that they were agriculturalists and women that they were potters. Men who work outside the community, in the fincas or in the sawmills, consider this a temporary means of gaining cash income and do not define themselves as sawyers or laborers for others. They work outside the community only when they do not have sufficient land to provide themselves with corn to eat and a surplus to sell, or when they must pay debts incurred by betrothal or assumption of religious posts. Many women who do not make pottery for extended periods of time, or make it only for a special fiesta, still consider themselves pottery producers.

Persistence of the same occupations and the daily effort to make a living strengthen the link between generations and to tradition. The primary emphasis in child training is teaching both boys and girls to work efficiently and industriously in these traditional occupations. The techniques for codifying and perpetuating a given way of doing things, particularly evident in pottery production, provide clues to the way in which other kinds of behavior are schematized.

AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTION

Agricultural production involves two areas of decision making: what to grow and when to schedule each activity related to production. Decisions in both these areas are based upon custom and time-proved results. I shall

- 241 indicate these bases and assess the efficiency of the agriculturalists in allocating resources of labor, land, and seeds.

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[175] *Land use.* The historical factor of the greatest significance in establishing the present economic position of the town was the act of possession of ejido lands in 1937. The first grant included 4,873.53 hectares¹ of land of the following categories:

irrigated flat land	139.77
non-irrigated plots	1,018.37
pasture	1,659.65
hill land	2,055.74

The high hill land with its cover of pine and scrub oak was set aside for use of all members of the community for hunting and gathering firewood. The pasture lands are similarly controlled by the civil authority for common use. The cultivable lands passed into the hands of 385 ejidatarios, each of whom received one-half hectare. A further grant in 1954 provided an increase of 2,578 hectares, including:

low mountain land	2,277.60
pasture land	300.40

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[178] The possession of land by individual small-plot cultivators reversed the trend toward large-scale commercial agriculture begun in the last quarter of the nineteenth century. The land of the Indians that had been expropriated in the latter part of the nineteenth century by forced sales was to be held in the possession of the townspeople, "benefiting all with its products and uses" (Act of possession, 1937, Town Archives).

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178 With the increase in ejido lands acquired in 1954, the share of each ejidatario has been increased to one hectare. This is usually split between low land in San Caralampio and high land in San Isidro and Tulancá, giving two growing seasons. The advantages of different growing seasons are that there is a more balanced work schedule and that there are two harvests, one in November and one in July. The ejido land grant has stabilized subsistence crop cultivation in the economy of the town and in-

1. A hectare is equal to 2.46 acres.

Traditional Economic Activities

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creased the economic independence of the Indians. The present total of 613 ejidatarios in 1965 has increased 59 percent since the original grant. The dependence of the town's economy on the ejido land can be assessed in the fact that 63 percent of the pasture land is held in ejido grants. The use of land resources in the township is summarized in Table 4.

TABLE 4. Agricultural Productivity by Size of Landholding

<i>Size of landholding (hectares)</i>	<i>Weight of produce (kilograms)</i>	<i>Value of produce (pesos)</i>	<i>Land used (percentage)</i>
Less than 5 hectares			
Corn	300,000	130,000	83.
Wheat	20,000	27,550	16.8
Fruit	3,000	9,000	.3
1 hectare of ejido land			
Corn	319,688	223,781	49.
Corn (with beans)	30,320	21,224	6.
Beans (with corn)	14,000	17,360	
Wheat	185,580	181,580	28.
Beans	84,322	104,322	17.
More than 5 hectares			
Corn	67,388	45,117	34.
Corn (with beans)	96,550	68,108	51.
Beans (with corn)	42,985	56,740	
Alfalfa	350,000	42,000	4.6
Fruit	14,508	9,720	4.4
Other			6.

SOURCE: 1960 census, Mexico.

According to the 1960 census figures on productivity per hectare, privately owned plots under five hectares yield the highest return in corn (1,097 kgs. per hectare), privately owned plots over five hectares the next highest return (925 kgs. per hectare), and ejido plots of one hectare the least (810 kgs. per hectare). In the census evaluation of wheat and corn production on privately owned plots of less than five hectares, wheat apparently yields a higher return (807 pesos per hectare of wheat compared with 658 pesos per hectare of corn). This relative return is nearly the same for the corn produced on ejido lands (820 pesos per hectare return on wheat compared with 603 pesos for corn). However, this is figured at the maximum market price for wheat of 124 pesos per 100 kgs.

000 maximum market price for wheat of 124 pesos per 100 kgs. The Indians
 435 usually sell their wheat at 90 pesos per 100 kgs. to Teopisca truckers, or at
 442 best gain 110 pesos per 100 kgs. by bringing it to the mills themselves.
 • 241 From their perspective corn is the more valuable crop, not only from the
 point of view of subsistence, but also for sale since if they hold it in stor-
 age they can sell it at double the price at which the values are calculated in
 the census (.60 peso per kg.). They do not have facilities to store wheat in
 order to take maximum advantage of price changes.

125 The census I made in 1964 of land ownership and use by the 304 fami-
 423 lies living in the center of the township (Table 5) shows that 47 percent
 161 of the households have no land other than the ejido grant of one hectare.
 Because of the growing population, the land per household has decreased.
 A comparison with the 1958 census of land ownership of 280 households
 in the center indicates that 89 families now have less land than they had at
 that date, 72 have the same amount, and 44 have more land; 99 unknown
 cases include new families which have been created since the earlier date,
 families which were no longer in existence in 1964, and households in
 which there is a lack of data on the question of landholding.

423 The strong sentiment against the sale of one's own land, well docu-
 432 mented in the monographic literature,² is expressed here:

If a man sells his land without sickness, people say he is lazy. The best thing to buy if you have money is land. Unlike cattle, it does not die, it does not get lost, and it does not need watching. It is not the same with a horse. When you buy one, you have to watch it and care for it and when it dies, all is over. You lose all your money. But with land, in two years you have the land paid for and it remains as a gift. It gives us what we eat.

423 Land is rarely sold to outsiders. If a man needs money and has a buyer
 432 from out of town, the civil authorities raise the money and buy the plot,
 609 selling it in pieces as they find buyers. Only one small plot of land has
 62 been sold to an outsider in my knowledge of the community. This plot

2. See Tax (1957), Wagley (1941). Oscar Lewis (1963:125 indicates that in Tepoztlán the breakdown of the resistance to selling land was associated with a growing awareness of profits to be made in the regional and national economy.

[P.31]

TABLE 5. Land Ownership and Crops Grown by Households, 1964

Crops	Owners of ejido land (2 tablonés *)	Owners of ejido and inherited land No. of tablonés					Owners of ejido and bought land No. of tablonés					Owners of ejido, bought, and inherited land No. of tablonés					Total
		1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5 and over	1	2	3	4	5	
Corn	45	6	2				1	1									55
Corn and wheat	92	25	13	1	2		2	3	2	2	2	1	6	5	2	3	161
Corn and beans	3	23	16	4	2		8	11	1	2				3	3	2	78
Unknown	2										2			1			5
Total	142	54	31	5	4		11	16	3	5	2	1	9	6	5	5	299

* A tablón is equal to 25 square meters roughly figured; there are 4 tablonés in one hectare.

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432 was in a low gully where crops would not grow, and no one within the
609 community would buy it.
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Land is frequently pawned by farmers as security on a loan. The title to
423 the land is left with the lender, who can foreclose on the debt if the inter-
426 est payments of five percent per month are not paid. Often the land
pawned may be worth far more than the loan. Loans in town are rarely
backed with security, and if something is pawned, it is usually clothing or
household items.

178 With the growing significance of ejido lands and land sale, inheritance
423 of land is of less importance in the economic expectations of each succe-
428 sive generation. The rules controlling inheritance are theoretically simple:
593 equal inheritance for all children regardless of sex. The parents usually
give some land when the child establishes a separate household; the re-
mainder is then given at the death of the parent or when old age makes it
impossible for the parent to work any more. The youngest child remain-
ing at home works his father's land, or if he is living with his wife's fam-
ily, his father-in-law's land, until the latter's death. His family inherits the
house site as well as an equal share of the privately held lands. Complica-
tions arise because of modifications of the basic rule of equal inheritance
by provisions for care and maintenance of the aged parents. Frequent dis-
putes over inheritance are settled in local courts or passed on to the De-
partment of Indian Affairs in San Cristóbal.

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• 241 The selection of which crop to grow is related to the kind and amount
of land a farmer owns. The most important crops are corn, beans, and
wheat. Some squash and sugarcane are grown in the lower ejido lands of
San Caralampio. Cabbage is grown by one Indian who possesses fertile ir-
rigated lands in the center. Most Indians, however, are unwilling to under-
take the risk of raising a cash crop since there is greater chance of the crop
being stolen and they cannot afford a bad market price when they harvest.

241 Relating the size of holding to the crop grown, according to figures in
423 the Mexican census of 1960³ (Table 4) one can see that in privately
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659 3. The census figures are based on estimates received from town officials, who submit
them monthly to the census bureau. The officials of the town question the household heads
as they see them in the streets or in their houses about how much seed they planted. They
then estimate what the yield per almod for good and bad land is, from their own crops.

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owned plots of less than five hectares, corn is clearly the major crop, with 83 percent of the land devoted to its production. In the ejido lands, it is cultivated on less than 50 percent of the land, with wheat and beans sharing the remaining lands. Included in the category of ownership of five hectares or more are three large fincas where cattle fodder is grown. These fincas employ eighty-three laborers, some of whom live in the town center. [464]

Since the Mexican census figures do not take into account the total land holdings of the household, I shall refer to the data on land use from my own census in 1964 (Table 5). Beans are grown (except in three cases) only if the household has more than the one hectare of ejido land grant. Corn and beans are grown together only on irrigated lands, both in high lands and in low country. Most farmers with ejido land grow wheat in addition to corn only when the land is in continual production, since it is believed that wheat gives "heat" to the land and improves the soil. This belief is supported by the real value of crop rotation.

Decisions concerning what crops to plant where are based on two sets of criteria: topology and soil characteristics. These criteria, furthermore, are the basis for determining what kinds of seed should be planted and what techniques of cultivation should be utilized. 242

Topological criteria. Because of the relative wealth of land resources, the steep hills are left uncultivated. All of the steep hills are communally owned, and the second growth of pine and scrub oak provides firewood. Tall pine growing in the higher lands of the colonia of San Vicente is sold by the community to private lumber companies. 311 [241] [423] [313]

The "belly of the land," the mound-like hillocks at the bottom of the hills, are sometimes cultivated or used for pasturage. On hilly lands farmers put rocks in the banks or curve the rows of corn to avoid erosion. The very low lands of the valley floor must be drained by digging ditches. 311 241

The flat irrigated lands of the valley floor are the most desirable lands for cultivation. The Indians are reluctant to sell these lands, and hold on to them until they are forced to sell.

When the officials reach consensus on what the mean yield (or *medio calculo* as they call it) is, they multiply this by the known amount of seed planted. Every six years a house-to-house census of what was planted is made. 241 423 433 659

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base, so the farmers prefer to plant the better, quicker-growing corn seed 242
in a mixed sand and loam soil.

The final evaluation of land is based on results at harvest. The range of 242
variation is large: from 48 liters of yield per liter of seed to 80 liters of 433
yield per liter of seed. Township officials say that the average harvest is
five *fanegas* (1 fanega equals 12 liters) or 60 liters per liter of seed. Market [435]
prices are of less importance in deciding what crops will be planted than
are considerations of what the soil "wants" and what labor is involved.
Corn is grown on all kinds of land, whereas beans and special crops such
as cabbages can be grown only on the more fertile soil. Wheat can be
grown only where there is irrigation. One farmer raised cabbage in coop- [434]
eration with a Ladino and earned 1,000 pesos, four times the amount he
earned with his wheat crop the previous year. Despite the greater return
for cabbage, the farmer did not plant it the next year when the Ladino,
who had supported the first venture, withdrew his support. The reason he
gave for this was the fact that there was more work involved and he could
not accomplish it alone: first the crop had to be planted, then transplanted,
then irrigated every three days in the early growing period, and cultivated
two or three times; every eight days he had to get rid of worms. He esti- [461]
mated that growing cabbage involved well over four times the amount of
work necessary for growing corn.

Labor. Most agricultural work is performed by members of 592
households with exchange or hired labor. There is no specialization of 241
labor when the work force includes two or more men since the men 476
cooperate in doing each task. Communal labor is restricted to the mainte- 464
nance of the main irrigation ditches. Each year the ditches are dug out 241
where the sides have eroded and cleaned of brush and leaves. The presi- 621
dent and judges unite to decide on a time for this work and announce it 476
on a loudspeaker of one of the cantinas. This usually occurs around the
twenty-fifth of December. Formerly, all the men of the community helped
in this work whether or not they owned irrigated fields. In 1958 those who
did not own such land "got smart" and refused to work. [178]
[423]

In 1962 the civil officials decided that a cement canal should be installed 653
near the source of the spring. They tried to finance it with contributions 621
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653 from all men of the township, but again they were refused by the farmers
 621 who did not own irrigated land. The officials then sold trees in the com-
 241 munally owned lands to support the project, which cost 2,000 pesos. The
 423 farmers without irrigated lands still bore the cost although indirectly since
 community resources were expended in subsidizing the work.

241 The scheduling of agricultural activities follows an annual cycle for the
 three major crops, corn, wheat, and beans.

243 *Corn.* In corn production, the greatest discrimination comes in
 242 the selection of seed.⁴ Seed is chosen from cobs which have the most grain.
 The farmer must look carefully to see that none of it is rotten, since if one
 grain is bad, the entire five grains put into each hillock will rot. There are
 two major kinds of corn: a quick-growing variety and a slow-growing va-
 riety. The first is preferred, but not all soils "want" it. The bitter soil
 "wants" the slow corn which must be planted about the first of February.
 [77] A new corn seed introduced by some developmental engineers in 1957
 yielded more grain, but it was not as flinty as the old variety and rotted
 quickly.

243 The soil is prepared by cross-plowing the land three times in one
 direction and two times in the other. Those who do not own their own
 oxen team do it just once because of the additional expense. In planting,
 the farmer is careful to measure rows evenly, five handspans between
 rows, and five handspans between each hillock, forming a square which
 permits the maximum growth of each plant. Five seeds are placed in each
 hillock. In hot country, the land has not been worked over as well, and as
 a result it cannot be measured as accurately because of rocks and trees.
 This upsets the agriculturalist's sense of symmetry and beauty.

Once the corn has been planted, the scheduling of activities is based on
 the maturation of the plant rather than on a calendrical sequence. The
 scheduling of activities in corn production is shown in Table 6. The
 stages of growth in the corn plant and the activities related to them are
 listed in Table 7.

Cultivation is performed twice, to kill the weeds and to pile up earth at

4. The botanist Anderson (quoted in Lévi-Strauss 1966:73) points out that the careful
 separation of seed planted in each plot distinguished Indian from non-Indian agricultural-
 ists in other Middle American communities.

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Guarding the crops. The crops must be guarded against intruders. The farmers sometimes sleep in the fields when they expect animals to steal the ripening corn. They observe the habits of these intruders and develop belief systems which help them organize opposition:

The raccoon steals maize seeds. He pushes down cornstalks when they are in elote and steals the cob. He is very smart. He can tell whether the owner is sleeping or not by putting his hand on his own anus. If his anus is cold, the owner is awake; if it is hot the owner is asleep and he enters.

Some men who live below in Alannantik have good dogs. They planted their milpa, and the next night wanted to hunt. "You stay with one dog."

TABLE 5: Schedule of Activities in Bean Production

Activity	Date	No. of days necessary for task	Helpers	Tools
Cleaning and preparation of soil is same as for corn (Table 6)				
Ground beans				
Plant between rows of corn	Mar. 1	2	3 exchange workers	Digging stick
Cultivate	Apr. 19	3	3 exchange workers	Hoe
Harvest, pulling up entire plants and putting them in burlap bags	July 10	2		
Store in eaves of house				Burlap bags
When pods are very dry, beat bag with stick to depod beans	Sept. 1	2	women of household	Stick
Pole beans				
Plant, following the second hoeing of corn, setting seeds near each hillock of corn	May 2	1		Digging stick
Wind the vines up on corn stalk; tie	June	1		
Cut pods and store in burlap bags in eaves of house	Nov.	1		Burlap bags
Shell beans as they are used				

SOURCE: Same as for Table 6.

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- 241 they said to me, "while we go over with the other two." I fell asleep. Then
825 the raccoon entered. And so I believe the raccoon is very bright.
Also there is the wild pig, who is less bright than the raccoon.

Another "thief" of the milpa is a small black insect which eats beans. These are eliminated in the following way:

- 241] When we plant beans, the women go with us wearing a new skirt and a
new shawl. They walk near the plants, waving the shawl. The animals
die. It has to be a new skirt. My mother proved it. She went with an old
skirt, and she saw that they did not die. They just fled to the mountain
out of shame. It is the smell of the old skirt that scared them away.

- 241 If many animals are eating the crops, Indians buy three twenty-cent can-
825 dles. They take them to the fields and light them, praying in Tzeltal:
782 "God, holy world, please look at me and speak to the little animals. God,
788 holy rock, holy forest, please look at me, hear me, speak to the animals."

The candles are media through which communication is made with the gods as well as gifts which seal the contract with the gods ensuring their protection and guardianship over the crops.

- 241 Guarding the crops also involves avoidance of certain kinds of behavior
786 by the farmer and his wife. Farmers must always avoid irritating the spir-
784 its of the heaven who control the elements which make the growth of the
crop possible. One informant explained:

One should not have sexual relations with anyone in the milpa because the Father Sun [Tatik K'ak'al] gets angry or "ends his heart." He will not give crops. He gets very hot. One time, many women in town were looking for lovers. They would have sexual relations with boys in the daytime. The Father Sun got angry and caused the crops to burn. There was very little corn. The price went up to twenty cents a liter. People bought bread and mixed it with the nextamal.

It is different if a man is married to a woman in the church. The Tatik K'ak'al does not get angry. The Tatik K'ak'al does not have a woman of his own, and so he gets jealous if he sees people having sexual relations in the milpa in the daytime.

But if you have relations at night with a man in the milpa, Our grand-

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mother the Moon gets angry. This might cause an eclipse of the moon, and the crops will suffer because there will be no sun.

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There is no prohibition, however, against having sexual relations prior to planting or at other crucial stages, as there are for other Maya Indians (Wagley 1941:34).

[171]

During the growing season, candles are lit in the milpa as protection against wind as well as robbers, who "lose their luck" when this is done.

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The spirits' care of the crops. The crops have souls, given by the spirits, which will be lost if they are not cared for. The spirits "watch over the crops as parents watch over their children." The term for seed (*yal*) is a metaphorical extension of the term for "child of a woman."

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The following myths give different, occasionally contradictory versions of the origin of crops. This central truth emerges in all of them: The spirits have given us our crops and will continue to do so as long as we offer thanks in the form of ceremonies and gifts to them.

[782]

Santo Tomás [the patron saint of Oxchuk] had intercourse with Santa Lucía. She wanted [asked for] the soul of corn, and he gave her the seed of corn. Then there came forth beans, corn, and wheat. But then all the saints of San Bartolo and San Miguel [neighboring towns] asked for the soul of corn. Then the soul of beans left us and went to hot country. Now it does not grow well in the pueblo. Also, the avocado has gone to Comitán. The matasano and ground beans went to Oxchuk when Santa Lucía fought with Santo Tomás.

[539]

The myth of the origin of crops overlays an older myth which has parallels in other groups of Maya-speaking Indians (Castro 1965, Wagley 1941:20).

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Formerly, during a famine, there was hunger. The tzisim, an insect of Ariola, came to take the corn from underground. Thus the ancestors got their first seed. For this reason, people say that corn was born underground, brought up by the tzisim. But I believe God sent us corn.

[539]

Another version has synthesized the role of the saints and that of the animal agent.

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241 The ant [alielo] brings corn out of the house. They say that a saint
 776 passed on horseback. The ant came to the saint, bringing a grain of corn.
 825 He stood before the saint, and the saint said, "Where are you going with
 539 the corn?" The ant replied, "To the storeroom." The saint inquired,
 "Which one?" The ant went to show the saint a stone as large as a church
 into which he entered to take out corn. There was white, yellow, and red
 corn.

The saint returned to heaven and spoke to San Bartolo. San Bartolo
 asked, "Where is it?" The saint replied, "I will show you."

San Bartolo went with Santo Tomás to see the stone. Santo Tomás said,
 "Good, let us figure out how to destroy this stone." San Bartolo said, "Let
 us go talk to a carpenter." At this moment, a carpenter came. They asked
 him to cut the stone. "Good," said the carpenter, "I will do it."

But the carpenter could not open the stone. They went to another car-
 penter—there were three in this mountain. The first couldn't, nor could
 the second. The third carpenter said, "Let us talk to the tunselek
 [woodpecker]. He is a good carpenter."

The first two birds had broken their beaks, and the saints warned the
 woodpecker that he should be careful or he would fail with the stone. The
 woodpecker broke open the stone, and all the corn seed—yellow, red, and
 white—fell out. People should not kill these birds because they broke open
 the rock where the seeds were kept.

241 The necessity for showing respect to crops because of their relationship
 776 to the saints is expressed in the following account:

[539] Corn must be treated with respect, since it is the body of the Virgin.
 You cannot step on anything which is for eating—beans, corn, or wheat
 —or the Virgin will become angry. Particular care has to be taken at the
 harvest to avoid offending the saints.

Some of the saints serve man by helping to spread the cultivation of
 crops, as in the case of San Isidro, the patron saint of milpas.

[539] The Padre told us that San Isidro helps the farmers. Formerly there was
 only milpa here where there is irrigated land. San Isidro went up to the

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hilltop with a digging stick. He knelt and prayed, asking for rain. At that very moment, the rain came. He put the seeds in the holes he made, and from then on people have been planting in the hills.

Other saints are charged with providing rainfall. The saint of greatest importance in this respect is Santo Tomás, the patron saint of Oxchuk. Some Indians have gone to the church there to light a candle and ask for rain, and on their return the rains came. During an extended drought in August 1967, over one hundred people walked to Oxchuk to pray for rain. The people of Tzo'ontahal are somewhat bitter about the Oxchuqueños' neglect of Santo Tomás since over half of the town has converted to Protestantism. Whenever there is a drought, they blame it on the failure of the people of Oxchuk to take care of Santo Tomás.

In addition to the Catholic saints, the ancestor spirits help man to watch over the land. They are responsible for giving the rains in the planting period and early growing season. The fiesta on the Day of the Cross (Chapter 1) is primarily a plea for rain. Until the 1950s, the curers would hold a celebration at the Cave of the Ancestors to ask for rain during a drought. The waning belief in the presence of the ancestor spirits in the town has meant that there is less attention given to such fiestas. Some go to seek the ancestors in Chiapa de Corzo in the cave in which they are supposed to reside, as the following story illustrates:

One time my three brothers-in-law went to Chiapas to ask the ancestors for better crops. When they arrived there, nobody knew where the cave was. They said only a certain mayordomo there could find it.

Another time, two of the prayer-reciters went to the cave. They talked to the guard of the cave, saying, "May we speak to our ancestors?" The guard said, "Are you prepared? Did you bring two liters of trago? The ancestors like to drink."

The prayer-reciters went to get two liters of trago and all three drank it. While they were drinking, they saw a cow and chickens appear. The guardian said that if they came back in May with "food" for the ancestors—candles, incense, and firecrackers—they would get rich crops. I think the prayer-reciters succeeded because now they have a cow and chickens and a horse. They are afraid of the envy of their neighbors.

628 People with lands in hot country recount that during droughts the In-
796 dians from the neighboring town of Chamula have held rainmaking fies-
782 tas for which they solicit contributions from other Indians.

821 *The Chamulteco came to us and said, "Let all of us who have milpas*
731 *contribute five pesos for a fiesta." He brought the candles. In the little hill*
there the people brought drums and flute. We ate chickens and drank li-
quor. For eleven hours he prayed, and in the afternoon it rained.

628 The *kuriketik*, rural inhabitants of the colonia of San Vicente who
241 migrated to Amatenango from Chanal, have no irrigated lands and de-
789 pend directly on rainfall throughout the growing season. Indians of the
center know of their practice of sticking their digging sticks into the
ground with the points toward the sky "to puncture the clouds" when
they have planted their milpa, but they do not imitate this practice. Con-
trol over the supply of water in the irrigated lands has apparently led to
the neglect of supernatural appeals even where the canals do not supply
water. Under pressure of extended drought, they will resort to spiritual in-
tercession through Chamula or Oxchuk practitioners in whom they have
some faith.

241 Acquiring the protection of the gods does not obviate the practical activ-
796 ities necessary in the cultivation of crops. Fiestas for the saints are a repay-
782 ment for services rendered in watching over the milpa. The sponsorship of
796 fiestas for the saints by the community ensures the protection for all of the
crops, and general crop failure due to drought or high winds is explained
as a result of mismanagement of these community-wide fiestas. The offer-
ing of candles to the spiritual owner of one's own milpa is a kind of indi-
vidual insurance policy for future crops as well as a repayment for the gift
of the corn harvest. The peasant notion of surplus value is implicit in this
reciprocal relation: the payment, or gift, of two candles to the milpa spirit
is far less than the value of the harvest. But the account is balanced by the
expenditure of this surplus in communal fiestas.

POTTERY PRODUCTION

323 Making pottery has been a speciality of the town since pre-Conquest
178 days. The old site of the town contains sherds of pottery which is remarka-
172 bly similar in texture, design, and form to
the pottery made now.

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there is no other woman in the house. (c) Number of men in the family. If there are productively employed men, women of the household tend to make less pottery, since they are busy cooking and washing and have their basic subsistence needs supplied. Pottery is then produced to supply cash for fiestas only. Widows make a great deal of pottery since they must either hire men to work in the milpa or buy corn.

2. Wealth of the family: Relatively wealthy families make almost no pottery. In other cases, the scheduling of production is related to consumption needs. Figure 2 charts the pottery production by type of item produced for a family which included two unmarried women, their mother, father, and grandmother. The peaks in production occur just before the major fiestas when the family wants additional money to buy meat, fruits, and clothing. Although this family produced more pottery than the majority of households because of the presence of four women, its production typifies the high periods of activity relating to the fiestas. Production is also related to the seasonal changes: during the rainy season (from June to October) many households curtail production, except to earn money for the fiesta of Santiago (July 25), because of the difficulty of firing without closed kilns.

Variation in production means that an overall estimate of income from pottery cannot be made. It ranges from none to nearly 90 percent of family income in the case of widows without land or male helpers. I would guess that an average family might earn 200 pesos a year, about 10 to 15 percent of the money value of crops. One family of two widows and five children who work constantly throughout the year averages an income of about 600 pesos, or about one-half what an agriculturist can make on one-half hectare of land.

THE MOTIVATION TO PRODUCE

The motivation to work is tied directly to consumption needs of the household. Failure to meet expenditures with income from agriculture and pottery is met by men hiring out as agricultural workers or as laborers in the sawmill. This alternative is chosen over that of increasing the size

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- 434 of the farm by renting additional land, as European peasants typically
 464 did,⁵ since there is very little land available for rent and the returns are
 427 not immediate. Farmers will try to avoid this by acquiring land grants to
 • 241 increase subsistence agriculture.

125 Expenditures and earnings were studied in six families over varying pe-
 434 riods of time from ten days to one year. The data are summarized below.

- 434 Family No. 1, consisting of a husband, his wife, and their married
 592 daughter separated from her husband and child, is able to meet all of their
 (241) need for corn and brown sugar and most of their need for beans by the
 crops they raise on one-half hectare of ejido land in hot country, one-half
 hectare of ejido land in the township, and three-quarters hectare of pri-
 vately owned, irrigated land in the township. On their irrigated land, they
 grow one-half hectare of wheat and one-quarter hectare of corn. In hot
 country they grow corn, beans, and sugar cane on the margins of the field.
 The cane is ground in a cooperatively owned mill, and their crop in 1965
 produced 144 *tapas*, or measures of one kilogram worth 5 pesos. In addi-
 tion to 200 pesos earned for the wheat crop, 100 pesos for the bean crop,
 464 298 pesos for corn, this farmer earned 808 pesos for outside work. His high
 465 wage income is due to his working for an American at twice the usual
 (435) daily pay. The farmer buys coffee by the twenty-five-pound bag costing 62
 pesos in hot country, a saving of about one-half the retail price of coffee in
 the town, where it is sold at 5 or 7 pesos at pound. In twelve months of re-
 corded expenditures, the family spent 609.50 pesos or 83 percent of their
 budget on food, 40 pesos or 5 percent of their budget on clothing and 82
 pesos or 11 percent of their budget on medicine.

- [583] The high expenditures in the case of family No. 2, consisting of a man,
 his wife, and two mature sons, was due to the fact that one of the boys was
 carrying on a betrothal suit. The bride-price had been fixed at 500 pesos,
 toward which the family was contributing whatever excess of income over
 expenditures it had. The son who was seeking a wife worked fifty-six days
 (464) in the sawmill at a wage of 15 pesos per day during the six-month period
 (465) recorded, earning 255 pesos. In addition, he and his brother earned 160
 pesos for agricultural work for other families.

5. Chayanov (1966:7) demonstrated that Russian peasant families expanded the size
 of their farms when the subjective needs of the family increased, not as a response to
 market prices for crops or rents.
 In the village.

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pesos for agricultural work for other families in the village. The expenditures of this family on meat, brown sugar, and liquor were required for the house celebrations carried out almost every Sunday. Like family No. 1 they spent 83 percent of their budget on food, a total of 714.80 pesos, and a larger percentage on clothing, 138 pesos. They sold their surplus corn for 292 pesos and their beans for 247 pesos. These crops were produced on one hectare of privately owned, irrigated land, one hectare of privately owned, non-irrigated land and one hectare of ejido land.

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[796]

Family No. 3 consists of a widow and her widowed daughter-in-law who had five children. The oldest son, aged sixteen, worked their one-half hectare of ejido land and one-half hectare of irrigated land with some hired help during harvest. During the three weeks recorded, there were no returns from their crops, which include wheat and corn, and the family relied entirely on returns from pottery. This household produces more pottery than any of the others recorded, earning 61 pesos in the three weeks, because there are no adult male producers. They spent 63 percent of their budget on food, a total of 42 pesos, and 34 percent or 23 pesos on clothing.

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Family No. 4 consists of a married couple with three children seven years of age and under. The husband works occasionally in the sawmill, but since he drinks a great deal, he does not contribute much of his 70-peso weekly wage to the family. He grows wheat on one-half hectare of irrigated land and corn on one-half hectare of ejido land. In the ten days recorded, no money was gained on harvest, but the woman earned 19 pesos from pottery. The family spent 77 percent, or 17.20 pesos of their budget on food and another 22 percent, or 5 pesos such as soap, kerosene, etc.

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Family No. 5 consists of a married couple, their married son and daughter-in-law, and three grandchildren. They own one and one-half hectare of irrigated land, on which they grow wheat and corn, and one-half hectare of ejido land. The husband and his son supplement their earning from farming by distilling liquor, earning 108 pesos in the ten days recorded. In addition, the women of the household earned 54 pesos from pottery they made. They spent 143 pesos, or 97 percent of their budget on food and 3 pesos, or 2 percent of their budget, on clothing.

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Family No. 6 consists of a young couple with two children. The husband owns one-half hectare of irrigated land, and one-half hectare of non-

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434 irrigated land in addition to their one-half hectare of ejido land. He sup-
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 plements his income with work in the sawmill for some periods of the
 year, at a wage of 90 pesos a week, making a total of 165 pesos in the ten
 days recorded. The family spent 81 percent or 36 pesos of the budget on
 food, 13 percent or 6 pesos on clothing 2.3 percent or 1 peso on household
 supplies, and 3 percent or 1.20 pesos on medicines.

434 These family budgets show that most of the corn and beans can be sup-
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 plied by subsistence agriculture. Garden crops of chile, chayote (a green
 vegetable which produces a fruit and an edible root), and fruit trees, in-
 cluding lime and anone, are raised in the house yard. Tomatoes, fruit, and
 cabbages are bought in neighboring market towns.

434 In comparison with household consumption expenditures in the United
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 States and other foreign countries, these budgets show a much higher pro-
 portion of cash income spent on food. The percentages of food expendi-
 tures range from 63.2 to 97.0 in the families studied, whereas in the United
 States the average percentage is only 26.3, in Argentina 59.2, and in Zam-
 bia 66.5 (Conference Board Economic Almanac 1967). This reflects the
 fact that the people of Tzo'ontahal have no expenses for house rental, that
 wood for fuel and light is available in communally owned forests, and
 that most of the household utensils such as jars, jugs, and bowls, are
 locally produced. However, failure to report items must also be noted—no
 [125] one reported purchasing matches although everyone uses them, and only
 half of the families reported use of soap, although this is universally pur-
 chased.

433 A gross estimate of the land necessary to fulfill consumption needs of
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 corn for a family of two adults and four children would be approximately
 one and a half to two hectares. The yearly average consumption of corn
 for such a family is about 2,000 kilograms. One hectare produces from 1,
 200 to 2,000 kilograms in addition to 80 kilograms of beans. Of the 299
 families whose land ownership is given in Table 5, 142 have only one hec-
 tare of ejido land and 85 more have only one-half additional hectare of pri-
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 vately owned land. This means that 227 households, or 61 percent do not
 have enough land to meet their subsistence needs. 160 household heads

Traditional Economic Activities

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have recently sought additional lands in the ejido of Brindis to meet these minimal requirements. This preference for expanding subsistence agriculture to hiring out as laborers is the best index to the persistence of traditional economic pursuits.

Farmers who do not have a cash crop in wheat may be forced to sell corn even when there is no surplus. Because they usually need the cash as soon as they harvest their crop, they must sell when the prices are low. Thus their consumption needs exacerbate the disadvantage they face in the market.

Clothing, whether traditional or modern in style, requires cash outlays. Women have kept the traditional costume while men are modifying their clothing. Even when they go to hot country, older women wear the heavy cotton skirt bound with a thick sash and topped by an embroidered blouse; some younger women have adopted the long cotton dirndl skirt and peasant blouse. A white cotton shawl is added for ceremonial events or for warmth in the evening. All of their clothing is either bought or made of materials woven on looms in Comitán or San Bartolomé. The navy blue skirt, which they say is black, and the red and yellow sash are sold for 40 to 50 pesos by Ladina vendors who come to town. The blouse is made from two meters of heavy white cotton sold in the local stores or in Teopisca and San Cristóbal. Most prefer the more expensive cotton woven on bed looms in San Bartolomé, but it is not always available. They embroider the wide bands of yellow and red around the neckline with embroidery floss sold in the local store. The fringed shawl from Comitán is also sold locally, but is often purchased during the annual fiestas in the town. These items are replaced every two or three years, depending on the wealth of the family. The newer clothing is worn on ceremonial occasions, and the older clothing is worn every day. Women wear sandals and hats for protection only when they are firing pottery. For jewelry they wear bead necklaces, sometimes with crosses attached. Their hair is braided with ribbons for fiestas, or simply left hanging when they work.

Men buy a woolen jacket called *kotonéu*, which is brought illegally from the Department of Huehuetenango, Guatemala, where it is made,

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I can get one then. Last year I bought a transistor radio for nine hundred and ninety pesos. My wife said she would leave me if I got it because all the children would get sick. But I got it anyway and no one was sick. I am stronger than my enemies."

[252]

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Innovation on the consumption level is adding a stimulus to innovation in economic activities. The successful innovator must invent a rationale for his improved standards of living and then prove that he can survive the possible evil consequences of envy. The process of adoption is one of a shift in the incidence of choices made in the direction of improving levels of living. The new is often incorporated with the old rather than replacing it. For example, after the rough preparation has been done with the mill, grinding stones are used for the final grinding of corn to get the dough into the preferred consistency for making tortillas. Tin plates are used along with crockery and gourds. Some items are linked in change: for example, tailored pants are worn only with buttoned shirts and belts and with zippered jackets. The old forms are continued in a ceremonial context: *kotonču* is preferred when a man undertakes an official role, and gourds are preferred to any other container for ceremonial foods. The technology of production lags behind the changes in consumption that have increased the need for greater income—agricultural tools have not been modified since the colonial period when the wooden plow, metal hoe, machete, and plow used with draft animals were added. Changes in consumption needs rather than in productive technology are expanding the economic horizons of the Indians.

CHOICES AND STRATEGIES IN AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTION

- 241 In agricultural and pottery production, decision-making concerning the use of land and labor resources is controlled not only by a traditional technology but more importantly by a given state of cognitive orientations that determines, in Goodenough's words (1966:54), "what states of affairs they have learned to discern, what they believe to be the relations between them, and what they understand to be the processes by which one state can be transformed into another." Agriculturalists have a fine perception

Traditional Economic Activities

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of what seeds grow best in which soils. Good, fast-growing seed is not 241 •
sowed indiscriminately but is limited to use on more fertile irrigated 242
lands. The size of a family's holdings is the primary factor in deciding
what proportion of the three major crops—corn, beans, and wheat—they (423)
will grow. Where they grow each of these crops depends upon the quality
of the soil categorized by topological criteria, consistency, color, and
proved fertility. Decline in productivity is attributed to wearing out of soil
fertility because of overuse as well as to loss of the soul of crops. The first
explanation leads to adaptive behavior, in which the land is "rested" or
turned over to cattle grazing, and to crop rotation, alternating wheat and
corn crops. The second explanation leads to adjustive behavior in which
the agriculturalist takes care of ceremonial obligations to the saints and to
the "owner of the milpa."

The scheduling of activities is determined by the knowledge of time re-241
quired for maturing of the crop and by expectations concerning seasonal
fluctuations as they affect rainfall. Although the farmers have some control
over water supply through irrigation, dependence on rainfall for the non-
irrigated fields means that sporadic appeals to the ancestors or saints are 082
made to ensure rain in the growing period. These rituals are not as inte- 776
grated in the agricultural production cycle as they are in the neighboring 769
towns of Chamula and Oxchuk or in the colonia of San Vicente where 171
irrigation facilities are lacking.

Traditional techniques of pottery production are maintained by a tightly 323
organized schema of procedures which allows for little variation in tech-
nique or form. Learning of productive techniques is facilitated by a fine
segmentation of tasks. Knowledge of local clays and tempering has been
stabilized for at least five hundred years of occupation in this area. Wom-
en's work is entirely lacking in rituals to ensure the success of their efforts.

These given sets of cognitive orientations in economic activities do not 241
exclude the possibility of considering new ways or means of doing things. 177
Agriculturalists have tried the new seed introduced by agronomists, but 178
have found them wanting in their resistance to mold, in the case of corn,
and in their portability, in the case of wheat. Fertilizers have been tried,
but the credit costs proved too high for the agriculturalists to continue.
Women were willing to try a kiln in place of open firing, but either the 177
model introduced was faulty or they were not 323
taught to use it properly.

000 model introduced was faulty or they were not taught to use it properly.
 • 241 Notions about the supernatural relation between souls of crops, man, and
 241 the saints do not interfere with experimentation or adaptation at the in-
 976 strumental level. Obligations with respect to them are carried on as a sup-
 178 plement to other practical measures.

462 The organization of men's work in agriculture contrasts with that of
 461 women's work in pottery. Men's work, when performed cooperatively by
 241 two or more of an extended household or exchange labor team, is mechan-
 323 ically organized, in Durkheim's terminology. Each of the men does the
 same task, working closely in the rows of the milpa. Women's work
 groups are organically organized since segmentation of the pottery produc-
 tion in the stages described above makes possible specialization within a
 domestic production group including two or more women. Preferences
 and special abilities can be taken into account. The potters with more ex-
 perience do the jobs which require more judgement and skill, such as mix-
 ing the clay or making the bases, and then the work is passed on to less
 proficient workers. Or an older woman can leave the more strenuous
 tasks, such as mixing clay or building up the sides of the larger pots, to
 younger women and perform the lighter tasks, such as putting on the
 neck and handles.

000 These differences in the organization of male and female work tasks
 suggest the need for a reformulation of the classification of whole socie-
 ties as organically or mechanically integrated. In assessing the potential for
 change, internal variations in the organization of production might pro-
 vide the clues for implementing development programs.

462 The division of labor according to sex is nearly absolute: women do not
 241 learn to work in the milpa nor do men learn to make pottery or perform
 323 household tasks. However, women will gather firewood, and men will
 transport clay (although they do not collect the clay deposits in balls) and
 help in firing pottery. Women can live without men in the household
 462 economy of the town, but men cannot live without women. This is be-
 461 cause male labor is a market commodity while female labor in household
 736 activities is not. A widow can hire a man to work her fields, but a man
 562 cannot hire a cook. If he is widowed, he must remarry, move into his

New Economic Activities

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highly stratified primitive society, which remains static: it lacks the flexibility and mobility that exists in modern societies. 423

The history of the ejido program in Tzo'ontahal in the first few years after it was organized in 1937 seemed to confirm this conclusion. Its immediate effect was to block the flow of labor and goods in the regional and national markets. The ejidatarios were no longer forced to sell their labor at the prevailing rate of 25 cents a day, a wage which was not enough to supply the needs of even one man much less those of a household. Children and women formerly had to work with their husbands in the coffee fincas in order to meet their most immediate consumption needs. The independence that the ejido tract gave meant that men could withhold their own labor and that of the subordinate members of the family from such exploitation. The second harvests coming from the ejido plots in low country freed the Indians from having to buy corn in July, August, and September at the inflated market prices which took advantage of the scarcity of this basic necessity. 175 423 182 464 465 241 435

The political effect of the ejido in the early days was to fortify the corporate community against the shocks of the outside world. The first lands acquired were primarily allotments of corporate lands alienated by the laws of 1856 and 1876. Populations remained in situ, whether they were foreign Indians working on the expropriated estates, or residential communities created in the sixteenth century as crown towns. 175 423 621

The township of Amatenango acquired its first ejido land grant in 1937. One of the early promoters of the ejido, a *revestido* Indian (one who has adopted western clothing) from Huistán who had been a laborer on one of the fincas within the township limits, threatened to become a rural *caique*, or local boss, comparable to those who emerged from the agrarian revolt in the central plateau (Friedrich 1962). This leader was elected president, but during his term of office he was expelled because of his attempt to secure house plots in the center for himself and other Huistecan Indians residing in the barrio of Yetawitz (Chapter 9). 177

The stabilizing-effects of the ejido in its earlier phase have been upset in recent years. As the population of the center expanded, new families migrated to the nearby barrios contiguous to the town center. These new set- 423 621 166

New Economic Activities

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The action of the Ejido Commission of the town reveals the knowledge of how to manipulate political and economic power. By sending the 200-peso bribe, they were able to block the independence movement before the leadership had arrived. The extreme tactics used by the independence leaders in killing their opponents approximates the kind of political homicide characteristic of the central plateau (Friedrich 1962). The Indians of the center have been able to maintain their ejido grants intact. However, the political discrimination against residents of both colonias and barrios—no resident of either (except for the Huastecan mentioned above) has been elected president, and they never serve in any post higher than that of assistant judge—will undoubtedly lead to further unrest as the populations expand.

Bureaucratic inefficiency and corruption minimize the potential effectiveness of the ejido organization at local, state, and national levels. Projects undertaken by the national government lose their effectiveness when they are promoted by fraudulent claims, taking advantage of the presumed illiteracy and ignorance of the peasantry. The following case illustrates both the tactics of the ejido agents and the countertactics of the local Indians, resulting in a stalemate in the development projects planned and projected at the national level.

In August, two years ago, the Ejido Bank agents came to town with an offer to lend money on crops. We didn't want to borrow it, but Francisco, carbrón! [then president of the town], said we should do it. "Good," we said. We accepted their terms. They said, "We will give fertilizer. It won't cost you a cent. We have tried it. It will give a good crop. We will give you money every six months, and you will pay the interest of nine percent. We will pay for all the costs. It won't cost you anything for the fertilizer."

In six months, when the bank agents came to get the interest, they charged us six hundred pesos for the fertilizer. We did not want to receive the second load of fertilizer. We presented our case to the Jefe and told him, "Why did you say it would not cost anything?" He replied, "No, Muchacho [boy], I told you [using the familiar form te dije] that the fertilizer is going to cost."

We used seven bags of fertilizer on each hectare for which they charged

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661 us 65 pesos per bag. It was the first time we had used it and we had very
652 good crops. We got together and decided not to pay for the fertilizer. We
621 called the bank agents and requested that we be relieved of the charge be-
571 cause the crops had failed. We showed him a milpa which is a low plot
241 that is too wet for a good crop. We just throw the seed there, but don't
work on it because it isn't worth the trouble.

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[693] We went to a lawyer in Tuxtla. He told us the bank would have to pay
for the fertilizer since they had promised it. The lawyer is the helper of
the campesinos [poor farmers].

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178 Several points of significance can be noted in this case: (1) the Indians
661 are reluctant to take credit risks because of unfortunate experiences in the
621 past; (2) they react to deception with their own deceptions, showing the
571 engineer the land which had not only not been fertilized but had never
[426] been weeded or cared for; and (3) they seek professional legal aid in deal-
[693] ing with government agents in order to equalize the contest in which they
feel disadvantaged. These first two behavioral syndromes are culturally
conditioned responses; the third represents an innovation. By seeking
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[177] professional aid for which they pay a fee, the Indians are breaking the mo-
[178] nopoly of power held by the caciques to whom they were formerly bound
in a network of personal obligations incurred in such transactions.

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423 Recent colonization of national lands since the 1950s has introduced a
361 new kind of ejido settlement. Since most of the lands contiguous to settled
towns were absorbed in the early days of the ejido grant, movement has
been into lands outside the domain of established centers. This sponta-
neous colonization of unexploited land has followed the penetration of
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[491] new highways in Quintana Roo, Campeche, Chiapas, Tabasco, and Vera
Cruz (de la Peña 1951:348). In defense of their rights to the new lands, the
colonists, often of diverse origins, develop a political consciousness. Mesti-
zos and Indians of different towns work together in securing official ejido
M
423 status for their lands. Acculturation to the national language and ways of
621 life is much greater in these mixed centers than in the settled populations
563 that were part of the original ejido tracts. Consciousness of their rights
[197] under national law and independence from traditional loyalties means that
M
[491] these new settlements may be the basis for welding Indians into the na-

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178 coming from the smaller towns to buy. The Indians still bring pottery to
 442 sell retail in towns that they visit during a fiesta. One of these is the barrio
 443 of Lok'ibal in the municipio of Villa Carranza, where people go on the
 third Friday of Lent to get holy water from the spring.

The Indians have not taken advantage of the truck to buy pottery
 wholesale and market it directly in the smaller towns, selling from the
 truck in the plaza as some of the wholesale fruit truckers do. Another op-
 eration which they have failed to profit from is buying the wheat harvest
 and selling to government warehouses, as some of the Ladino truckers do.

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Lack of capital is the major reason for failure to exploit these opportuni-
 ties. In marketing the contraband liquor, which is the most flourishing of
 the new enterprises, the Indians have not yet entered into the external
 markets except in the case of one young unmarried mother. Wholesale
 purchases are made by Ladinos, primarily women, from other towns who
 resell the liquor in Comitán and on the coast. There is however, a well-de-
 veloped home market since all contracts are sealed with the offering of liq-
 uor, the "gift of the gods," all court fines are paid in liquor, and the main
 gift in betrothal is liquor. The cantinas with phonograph players opened
 by the cooperatives operate very successfully on Saturday night and during
 fiestas. The internal market for liquor is controlled by a syndicate of the
 forty-two independent liquor distillers. The price is set at 4 pesos per liter
 for all buyers, with the buyer providing the bottle.

Agricultural production is not geared to a market, and Indians do not
 take advantage of fluctuations in price. Wheat yields a lower return per
 unit of land than corn, but it is grown for two reasons: the Indians believe
 that crop rotation of corn and wheat prevents depletion of the soil, and
 wheat requires less work since no cultivation is needed. Wheat is a cash
 crop and none of it is milled or consumed directly in town. Poor families
 sell their wheat "standing" to Teopisca truckers. The price given the
 grower is usually about 90 pesos per hundred kilograms, and it is resold at
 110 or 120 pesos in Tuxtla or to the government storehouses. Wheat is
 sometimes brought directly to San Cristóbal millers who give 120 per hun-
 dred kilograms. Corn is primarily a subsistence crop when grown in the
 center. Corn grown in hot country ejido land is now sold in Teopisca and
 San Cristóbal. The local truck cooperative has a special permit which gives

New Economic Activities

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members entry to the ejido colony, an area where traffic was formerly excluded because of the monopoly by the large trucking companies. Both the fruit and root of chayote are sold in August by some families who have a supply over consumption needs. It is brought along with pottery to the market of San Cristóbal where it is sold to *regatones*, retail sellers who have stalls.

Decisions as to what crops to plant are not responsive to market fluctuation. With the major emphasis on subsistence crops, the farmers have little margin of land on which to experiment with profitable but risky ventures. They have little knowledge or experience. There are no full-time specialists in market operations, although the truck drivers may gradually assume a greater role in this respect.

Very few Indians of the region, and none of those in Tzo'ontahal sell corn to the National Warehouses (*Almacenes Nacionales de Depósito*), although the warehouses offer prices higher than the going market price for corn. (940 pesos per ton in comparison to 500 to 600 pesos at harvest or 800 pesos offered a few months later by wholesalers who come to town). The reason for their failure to take advantage of the higher market price is that they do not have sufficiently large crops to pay the transportation costs of 28.75 pesos or the "tip" to ensure that their crops will not be declared substandard because of impurities, rotten kernels, insects, or excessive water content. In addition to that, they must spend time at the warehouses and in traveling. The alternative to the sale of crops to national warehouses is sale to wholesalers.

Dealing with external agencies. Entering into competitive areas where they were formerly excluded, the Indians are encountering opposition from competitors and are the prey of departmental and state government agents. The reduplication of bureaucracies at the state and departmental level means that they will be subject to the double "bite" or *mordida* if they pursue their enterprises. Operating on minimal capital, they are not able to fulfill all the requirements, or buy all the necessary permits and licenses. Because of monopolization of certain traffic by the larger syndicates of truck owners, they proceed without permits and are often caught.

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857 the larger ones their mothers make, but their products are usually not
[323] commercially saleable until they reach the age of marriage. Their responsi-
[312] bility in preadolescence is to bring water from the faucets installed in
every other block of the town, and to degrain corn, tend the fire as the
nixtamal, or corn dough mixed with lime, cooks, and help their mother
grind it. The careful assessment of the child's capacity to perform tasks is
exemplified by the gradations of water-carrying jars given to each child:
the older the child, the larger the jar, with minute variations in scale. The
[592] close, usually wordless cooperation between women in a household comes
[462] from years of working together and knowing their part in cooperative
tasks.

Boys accompany their fathers to the fields after they reach the age of six
and when they are not attending school. They do not participate in the
work of the milpa until they are eight or older, but they pick up twigs for
the fire or gather the wild berries or plants which supplement the diet of
the family. They usually carry slingshots with which they kill field rats
[411] and birds, which they bring home to cook and eat. Teaching a boy the
[262] tasks involved in agriculture is consciously undertaken by older brothers
868 or the father when the child reaches the age of twelve or thirteen. The fol-
241 lowing reminiscence of this training is given by a man who had been
brought up by his widowed mother and brother.

159 *I went to the field with my brother who is eighteen years older than I,*
868 *when I was thirteen years old. My brother brought me to clean the milpa,*
241 *saying, "Let us go and you will learn how to work. See what I do and you*
do the same. You will learn what I do and you can do the same."

One day I finished six rows. My brother said when he saw my work,
"Good, just give a little more soil at the foot of the corn because the little
corn must have a little soil. Now you do it well." "Yes," I said. He saw it
was good, and he told me, "You have learned your work. You are going
to forget it when you enter school. When you come out of school, go do
two or three rows of work. When you hear the bell strike, go back to
school."

He told my mother that I had learned to work, and she said, "Good you
know how to cultivate." I learned to do my work better by going along
with my elder brother in his work so that I would not forget.

602 Kinship is one of several bases for recruiting reciprocal or cooperative
476 labor. Table 19 compares kinship with nonkinship-defined work groups
626 in terms of the kinds of exchanges, the type of work done, the time span
permitted for reciprocity, and the sanctions against failure to reciprocate.

TABLE 19. Labor Exchanges of Kinship- and Nonkinship-Defined Groups

Conditions	Within household	Beyond household, within community	
		With kin (ritual, compadre, affinal and consanguineal)	With nonkin
Interchange	"Cooperation"—reciprocity based on implicit understandings	Reciprocity—explicit, defined by traditional expectations	Reciprocity—explicit, often defined by contract as well as tradition
Sanctions	Authority of elder member, male in men's work group, female in women's work group	Authority of elders of bilaterally-extended kin group; Recourse to cabildo if no strong elder	Informal—fear of gossip of neighbors; formal—reliance on local judges and president or recourse to district courts
Time Span	Extended, indefinite	Extended, usually some defined limit on repeated tasks (harvest); no limit for non-repeated tasks (house-building)	Immediate return expected, or explicitly stated time allowance
Kind of Task	Pottery-making, milpa agriculture, care of cattle, preparation of food	Ploughing, cultivating, harvesting, firing pottery, housebuilding	Same.

593 Fathers and sons, or sons-in-laws may work together on family-owned
476 property. Because all men can acquire ejido land after marriage, and since
423 47 percent of the households claim to have only this land, the cooperative
621 tie between fathers and sons is not based on inheritance. If they work well
[606] together, they may continue to cooperate after the son has become independent. Father and sons, brothers and brothers-in-law are expected to cooperate with each other in building a house, rethatching a roof, and threshing wheat. In the case of house-building or maintenance, they must pay for a substitute if they are unable to fulfill the obligation.

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In the Eyes of the Ancestors

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[822]
[837] There is no double standard for ex-
tramarital sexual relations, although men abuse the prohibition more often
than women, judging from court cases. The ability the women has to as-
sert herself rests on her economic contribution in pottery-making and on
the fact that female household help is not part of the labor market.

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831 Female sexuality has the connotation of negative power over male sexu-
ality. A woman should not step over a man's feet or his clothing since she
could affect his virility. This negative power emanates from the odors of a
woman's body, and is captured by anything in contact with it. A woman's
skirt cast over the head of a bull can tame him, and the water used by a
woman to wash her body, particularly the vagina if she has had children,
is drunk to cure snake bites because it is very "cold."

[412] Sexuality is seldom extended beyond persons to material objects. There
is some feeling that a man's tools, especially the machete and hoe, are male
and that a woman's tools, especially the grinding stone, are female. Corn is
• [241] a crop of men, while beans are a woman's crop, identified with the Virgin.
But I could not get much farther with such distinctions.

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[603] The accidents of birth determine the recruitment of successive genera-
tions into the family of orientation. There is no outright adoption, but a
child may be "lent" to a childless couple, usually by a sibling of one of the
spouses, or a grandchild may take up residence in the house of a grandpar-
ent when all the children have moved to separate residences. Parents disci-
pline a badly behaved child with the threat, "I am going to sell you to care
for someone's house," but I have never known of a case of outright sale of
a child.

581
582 The selection of a spouse is a decision based on both universalistic as
well as particularistic considerations. Both the boy and the girl should be
hardworking, sober, and dutiful residents of the same section of the dual
division. It is considered to be of greater importance that the boy feel af-
fection toward the girl than vice versa. The "taking of the heart" is a test
of the strength and exclusiveness of the boy's interest in his chosen mate,
and there is no counterpart for the girl. Although there is no term for ro-
mantic love, the closest approximation being "want" or "ask for" a
woman, there is an awareness of the importance of a warm, affectionate
basis if a marriage relationship is to last "at least until the day after tomor-
row." A suitor is accepted if he is known to be a hard worker and if he

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794 Familial role requirements must be fulfilled in order for public roles to be undertaken. A man must be married in order to enter into even the lowest posts in the civil and religious hierarchies.

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554 Only in the case of the *alferoces* has wealth ever been a criterion for recruitment. These four officials had to be able to spend 3,000 pesos during their year in office. The heavy expenditures failed to give prestige to the official, and the display of wealth excited envy rather than respect. The result was that people called upon to accept the post had to be imprisoned before they would accept.

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756 Recruitment to roles in almost all institutional contexts is based on innate qualities; special skills and knowledge are attributes acquired in office or other role positions rather than requirements for undertaking roles. Curers are recruited because they are recognized as having an animal spirit; they learn whatever skills are required after they have been initiated into the profession. The curers' special position in the society rests more on esoteric powers than on esoteric knowledge. Everyone in the community knows the herbs and medicines which are prescribed, and most men can give as comprehensive a taxonomy of illnesses as any practicing curer.

[208] Economic roles, though largely undifferentiated for each sex, are consciously learned and transmitted. Boys accompany their fathers or elder brothers to the field at about the age of eight and continue working with them until they reach independence. Observation of behavior alone would seem to indicate an unconscious absorption of the role of agricultural worker, but informants recount episodes in which training in field work was explicitly transmitted by their fathers or brothers, and formal approval of their ability to do the tasks announced to their mothers. Parents express fear that school attendance not only interferes with working in the milpa, but that it will cause the child to forget what he has learned in the field. Regardless of what other tasks a man performs, he thinks of himself as a farmer.

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[863] Becoming a potter requires an even more explicit training procedure.
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323 The fine linguistic segmentation of each act and movement in the schedule of pottery-making is a clue to the explicit transmission of tasks by the

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887 sion: "I pay respect to my elders. I greet my brothers and my children [extension of kinship terms]. To all I give respect. Thus I fare well. I have not been killed, nor have I been sick."

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576 A good man is a generous host, expressed in the phrase, "he gives many tortillas." He serves his community in public office but avoids the appearance of seeking power or self-aggrandizement. When he gives orders, it is in a soft, low tone, supplicating rather than ordering with the phrase, "If you would please lend a hand." He gives thanks readily for any service rendered both to God and to his fellow man. He avoids any show of anger, and is always careful to show consideration of others. Those who are of "another heart" or "two-hearted" are the opposite, seeking disputes, "thinking small," "being miserly," and of a "very black soul."

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754 The heightened awareness of the state of the heart of others comes from the ever-present fear of witchcraft. Since the people feel their survival depends upon perception of evil heart before it strikes, they develop an acute sense of the behavioral clues that indicate its presence.

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828 *Conformity and deviance.* Conventional or preferred behavior is characterized as "reasonable." The phrase "ʔiɛ' rason," to take reason or understanding, is applied to a child who is expected to have reason at the age of twelve years or so, as well as to the arrival at agreement of competing parties, as in the case of betrothal.

776 Reasonable behavior is any behavior conforming to socially accepted understandings of what the world is. These include what a person of non-Indian culture might characterize as beliefs based on faith. They "know" that there are hill spirits, wood spirits who cut off people's heads, and men who transform themselves into animals. Occasionally they subject given understandings to empirical tests: one woman tested the belief that a woman could rid the milpa of insect pests only by walking through a planted field wearing a new skirt; she walked through the field wearing a worn skirt and her belief was confirmed when she found that the insect pests were not killed but just fled and returned later. Empiricism is not lacking; the difference between the content of their category of what is rational or reasonable and ours is based on the premises, not the process of reasoning.

Ordering Behavior by Time

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Women work steadily at making pottery. Older girls help with household tasks from the time they are six in order to permit their mothers to make pottery. They bring the water from the faucets installed at every other corner of the streets in the center, de grain corn, and when they are about ten years of age assist in grinding corn or bring the cooked corn to the mill. In three-generation families, the older woman tends to the tasks of preparing the meals while the younger women make pottery.

The men work uninterruptedly at agricultural tasks, taking only a noon break to eat a lunch of tortillas, coffee, and sometimes beans. During periods of intensive activity, women or children bring a hot lunch to the fields. At about three-thirty they return home, sometimes stopping to collect firewood along the way. When they arrive home, there are no greetings. They deposit their loads of harvested crops, firewood, or *sacate* (leaves and grasses to pack pottery). The children pick these up and bring them into the kitchen with no words spoken. The men sit on the bench of the porch, sometimes assisting their wives with degrading, and "rest their heart" until supper is served about six o'clock. The final task of the day is cooking the nixtamal for the following day's meals. The family retires about eight o'clock.

The weekly scheduling of household celebrations indicates the thorough absorption of the Catholic calendar into the social schedules of the town. The choice of Saturday and Sunday for most household celebrations is geared to a week in which Sunday is a day of rest.

Other significant days of the week are Thursday and Friday. Thursday is thought to be the day when "the earth is open." House curing fiestas are scheduled on this day since the earth of the house floor can receive its gift of liquor. This is also the appropriate day to visit the caves to ask for crops and cattle, or to make payment with candles. Friday has a sacred quality because of the crucifixion, but except during Holy Week and Lent the townspeople ignore any proscription on eating meat.

THE ANNUAL CYCLE

The annual ceremonial cycle of religious rituals and life crisis events establish the pattern by which the people schedule their economic activities. Since the township gained dependence in 1931, there is no forced labor on

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In the Eyes of the Ancestors

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466 communal projects for the neighboring town as there had been formerly.
The peasant is master of his own time.

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512 Tables 33 and 34 summarize the number of days and percentage of time
accorded to various activities for men of two households. The first family
consists of a man forty-three years of age and his wife. All of their own
children died in infancy, and an adopted daughter recently left home to
live with her husband and child in a new ejido plot. The second family
consists of a man, his wife, two adult sons, and an unmarried daughter. In
this family, the father of sixty-five is retired and his two sons perform all
of the agricultural work. Table 34 includes only the activities of the sons.

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561 The two schedules provide some contrasts:

1. The forty-three-year-old man has many more ceremonial obligations than the youths. This is a factor related to the life cycle in which men over thirty-five years of age are involved in more familial and community celebrations. During the year this schedule was taken, the man was serving as a mayordomo.

2. The older man has fewer productively employed days than the youths (only 54 percent of his time is spent in productive activities) in contrast to 76 percent and 79 percent for the youths). The difference is accounted for by wage employment the youths have undertaken. In order to pay for the cost of betrothal, the elder son worked 56 days (37 percent of the time accounted for) in a neighboring sawmill.

3. The youths were not involved in any exchange labor arrangements; until they become independent heads of households working their own fields, the men do not contract reciprocal exchanges.

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796 The fact that men spend only 54 to 79 percent of their time (using these
tables to provide minimal and maximal limits) on productive activities
means that there is a great deal of flexibility in the use of time for ceremonial responsibilities. Everyone takes an average of twenty days off for celebrating fiestas in addition to fifty-two Sundays.

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[796] The high proportion of time spent in family or communal ceremonials suggests the high value placed on them. The preference for leisure to pursue these activities is proved in cases such as that in which the additional profit in cultivating cabbages was not sufficient to motivate one agricultur-

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 316]

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ist to continue growing this labor-intensive crop (Chapter 2). The low propensity to consume, maintained by community-shared standards which inhibit the display of wealth, further reduces the incentives to expand production (Schultz 1964:27). The major reward for hard work is land which, in his middle years, the agriculturalist can turn over to be worked by his sons, thus relieving him of daily toil.

TABLE 34. Activity Schedule for September 1 to February 28
for Two Unmarried Youths

Activity	Younger brother		Elder brother	
	Days spent	Percent of total time	Days spent	Percent of total time
Agriculture		41		25
Preparing land				
Clearing land by cutting and burning brush	26		6	
Irrigating land	3		3	
Plowing land	1		1	
Planting	1		1	
Harvesting crop	11		7	
Doubling over stalks	4		4	
Working in hot country	16		16	
Collecting firewood	6	4	2	1
House maintenance		12		6
Plastering house walls	13		6	
Bringing lumber	2		2	
Making pigpen	3		2	
Pottery		1		1
Bringing clay	2		2	
Agricultural work for others		8		8
Harvesting and carrying corn	3		3	
Plowing	2		2	
Planting	6		7	
Nonagricultural work in sawmill	16	11	56	37
Religious activities		18		21
Attending fiestas	3		3	
Attending mass and relaxing on Sundays	25		28	
Sickness	8	5		
TOTAL	151	100	151	100

Chapter 13

Belief and Behavior in a Changing Society

181 Continuity is the theme stressed in the rules of the game that apply to living in the square world of the community. The framework of continuity is the landscape itself with the ancestral hills and devils' caves reminding people of the moral order of the past. Repetitive behavior in rituals symbolically projects the past into the future, and behavioral schema in pottery and agricultural production reinforce the belief that all remains the same. The conditions making for change stem from the very attempts to preserve the existing equilibrium. A rising population on a limited land base using colonial techniques of cultivation is bringing about an increasing reliance on outside markets for the sale of labor and the purchase of goods.

[423] The ejido program which has perpetuated the system of subsistence cultivation has at the same time increased the dependency on external political influence and undermined dependency on parents. Some of the rules of strategy that have developed in response to changes coming from outside the community can no longer be justified by the beliefs that govern behavior within its boundaries. The community is now in crisis: people are losing faith in the old beliefs and have not yet developed a meaningful ideology for new strategies.

• [241] The crisis does not affect all institutions equally. It is absent in the traditional economic activities of milpa cultivation and pottery production. It is incipient in the households, especially where there are wage-workers in nonagricultural jobs. It is more apparent in the civil than in the religious sphere, and it is most manifest in the new economic activities. The school, as an externally imposed institution, generates awareness of the conflict between old beliefs and the ideology of nationalism, but until recently receptivity to these ideas has been limited. The behavior described for each in-

Belief and Behavior in a Changing Society

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The behavior described for each institution in earlier chapters will be summarized as a mode of adjustment¹²⁸ or adaptation in relation to the beliefs that give it meaning and purpose.

ECONOMIC ACTIVITIES

Learning agricultural tasks and pottery-making in the household is part of adjusting to membership in the community. Parents are responsible for teaching the value of industriousness and are held accountable throughout the life of the child. Agricultural tasks are scheduled in a yearly cycle that provides sufficient flexibility for a man to carry out community and familial ceremonial responsibilities. In milpa agriculture, there is no specialization of tasks. Small-plot agricultural production with a simple technology has been reinforced by the land reform program. Since the lands incorporated under the Ejido Commission in the 1930s were attached to the community, agriculturalists were not forced to adjust to new ecological conditions. Politicalization was minimal since the local commission operated within the old civil hierarchy. In the recent expansion of ejido colonies in hot country, Indians from the community have developed alliances with non-Indians in asserting claims to the land. Without any preexisting civil hierarchy, these ejidatarios have not had to adjust their activities to a given structure of authority, but have developed independent political organizations as an adaptation to their new environment.

Women's work in pottery is less subject to changes in techniques and organization than is men's. The schema of production in simple tasks in a fixed sequence makes it easier to teach girls each process and reinforces a given pottery tradition. My guess would be that if wheel production were introduced, it would liberate the creativity of each potter by freeing her of established routines.

Pottery production is not surrounded, as is agricultural production, by ceremonials. There is no god to whom one lights candles or gives offerings to ensure success, although there are hazards in production, particularly at the time of firing. Agricultural productivity, on the other hand, is thought to depend on the proper relation between the spirits of the heaven and of the church with the spirits of crops.

In the new economic activities, the Indians have shown both adaptive

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8: Hunt E-4,5 (1958)1962

NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango
Aguacatenango

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131 American Highway which connects San Cristobal de las Casas with
361 Comitan. They are 50 and 44 kilometers, respectively, from San
[491] Cristobal. Aguacatenango is closer to the branch road that con-
tinues south from the Highway to Venustiano Carranza, in the low-
lands.

361 Both villages are 2,000 meters above sea level, placed in
133 a slightly raised terrain in the valley floor.

137 The vegetation climaxes surrounding the settlements are
the same: woodlands of pine and oak, the second predominating,
grasslands which for the most part are secondary growths in abandoned
agricultural plots, and thorny bushes which the inhabitants of the
valleys utilize for building fences.

•241 The range of cultivated plants is the same in the two vil-
137 lages, including several varieties of corn and beans, squash and
a few greens, while other edible plants grow wild in the edges of
streams and rocky places unsuited for cultivation (Kaplan in
McQuown et al., 1959, Part II, Section 6).

134 The soils are mainly limestone base, calcareous clay loam
132 and loam transported, both territories receiving the same amount
132 of rain. Surface water is drained internally within the basin of
136 the Rio Blanco, and in the edges of the village of Aguacatenango,
forms, during the rainy season, a small lagoon, where a variety of
small fish thrive (Wagner, in McQuown et al., 1959, Part II, Sec-
tion 5).

136 The fauna include small deer, ocelots, snakes (poisonous
and non-poisonous), domestic and field rats, and other small
animals.

8: Hunt E-4,5 (1958)1962

NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango
Aguacatenango

CHAPTER IV

THE ORGANIZATION OF PRODUCTION

128

Introduction

Up to this page we have been describing the communities of Amatenango and Aguacatenango, emphasizing the similarities between these two social universes. There is, however, a set of differences between the two which requires separate treatment. It is important to do so because a detailed analysis of the patterned variation in the two villages can show us how, within a very similar social and cultural background, two societies can develop alternative forms of behavior which place the relations between individuals in two contrasting social structures.

Aguacatenango

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Aguacatenango is purely an agricultural village. The whole community is organized into independent domestic groups which are, in a sense, small family farms administered by the males.

Men cultivate the field crops--corn, beans and squash--do other planting and agricultural work, and care for the large livestock with the help of the sons who live under the same roof. Each household has a male head who is the bread-winner; he is responsible for the welfare of those who live in the same sitio.

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462 Each man tries to cultivate enough food to make his household self-sufficient the whole year around.

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868 The younger males of a household are initiated into the agricultural work by their fathers and elder brothers who work with the household head in the same fields. Around the age of ten, they are expected to leave grammar school and the children's playground, and to start learning their life trade: the techniques of cultivation. No young male is capable of marrying if he is not capable of bearing on his shoulders the economic burden of supporting a household with his labor in the fields.

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434 In addition to producing enough corn for the consumption of his homestead, a man is expected to cultivate some surplus which the household can exchange in the local markets and stores for the manufactured goods and staples which they need: machetes, candles, needles, coffee and various other commodities. Moreover, [464] if the household is in need of extra cash to pay for the expenses of a burial, a wedding, or any other emergency expenditure, he is expected to earn it by selling his labor to other men in the village for wages, or by working for short periods of time in the sugar cane plantation of Puilitic. (Usually between one and two weeks of wage work will cover such emergencies. See Fig. 5.)

562 The women of Aguacatenango are economically dependent on their male relatives: father, husband, siblings and adult male children. The women have many responsibilities; they are in charge of cooking and cleaning, sewing the family clothes, gathering [231] firewood for the hearth, and educating the young. They are also [241] in charge of feeding the small livestock which is kept in the

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 77]

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[231] sitio (household territory): pigs and chickens, and the cultivation of the rudimentary gardens within the back patios. These gardens do not have great economic importance. Women plant chiles, cilantro, chavotes, té limón, mostaza, and sometimes even beans and a small milpa for elote (tender corn), but gardening is not a serious occupation: most women only plant two of three varieties of plants, a little bush of flavor herbs for the beans, some medicinal plant, or some flowers to ornament the house altar. Many backyards just grow wild, and the collection of its products is mainly "gathering in one's backyard" rather than harvesting (see Fig. 6).

[434] By selling the products of the small garden, some eggs, or fruits, a woman can contribute to the household cash income, but this money is considered somewhat of a luxury. The extra cash can be used to buy some clothes before a fiesta, or a new pot, or a similar item, but women are not expected to support their families: this is the basic responsibility of the family men.

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464 Women have very few cultural alternatives for transforming their labor into a substantial income. Young single girls whose parents are too poor to support them, or who are alocadas (lightheaded) and desire to break away from home, can leave town to go to work as servants in Ladino towns. Wives running away from a mother-in-law who is too strict, or from a drunkard husband, or widows, would occasionally take up this kind of work. This, of course, isolates a woman from the village, and is a form of self-imposed exile. Working for Ladinos is a somewhat awe inspiring

[279] idea. Women "know" or suspect that Ladino men violate Indian

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 79]

8: Hunt E-4,5 (1958)1962

NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Aguacatenango

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● 241	Number of fruit-tree varieties:	7
	Number of vegetable varieties:	16
	Number of flower varieties:	7
	Total	30

Fruit Trees:

Name	Number of Houses	Number of Trees	Average per House Which Has Them	Average per Total Sample
Anona	25	72	2.9	1
Naranja	17	26	1.5	0.3
Lima	47	131	2.8	1.9
Duramo	40	117	2.9	1.7
Guayaba	1	1	1	0.01
Guineo	7	14	2	0.2
Matasano	4	7	1.7	0.1

Average number of varieties planted in each garden: 3.4

Mode of varieties per household: 4

Fig. 6.--Aguacatenango Garden Produce

166 women and that Ladino women mistreat their servants. Working in
462 towns is remembered, by those who have done it, as a strange mix-
464 ture of carefree economic independence and innumerable small
[829] humiliations and suffering. Its lack of attractiveness is well
reflected in the fact that, from a random sample of sixty-eight
households, only fourteen women have worked outside their homes
(see Fig. 5).

562 The only women who are the bread-winners or heads of their
462 homes are forced to do so because they have no male relatives to
434 provide for them. In this case, they have few alternatives open
[464] to them, the two most common being: 1) acting as a servant (al-
[275] ready discussed above), or 2) selling liquor in their houses to the
[558] men of the village. This second occupation is not very well
thought of by the villagers, trago sellers being gossiped about
as being bold women, "sexy" females who enjoy the company of
drunks and men married to other women.

Amatenango

462 In Amatenango, the division of labor presents a very dif-
323 ferent picture. The whole village of Amatenango is a pottery
438 factory because, in addition to the household income derived from
• [241] the agricultural work of the village men, each Amatenango woman
[434] is a pottery producer.

Pottery that is made for selling is neither a choice, nor a
part-time job, nor an individual specialization, but a town
specialty. All women in Amatenango are expected to know how to
make pots, and to make them. The women of each household

442 distribute their work so that while one takes care of the regular
323 home tasks: cooking, caring for the young, cleaning, etc., the
438 other can occupy herself in gathering clay, coiling or modeling.
Most steps in the production of pots are arranged in an "assembly
line" style, with the women distributing their individual work
according to the needs of the stage of the productive activity.
Some of these steps, such as firing, require their close and alert
[434] cooperation to be carried on successfully. Pottery production
represents about half of the income of each independent household,
with some slight variation, because households richer in land
produce less pots than poorer ones.

Comparison

433 Pottery production in the hands of the women shapes the
184 economic landscape of Amatenango very differently than the one of
241 Aguacatenango. In the first place, agriculture is a business where
433 the risks are high and the profits unstable. The agricultural
production of the villages depends on many uncontrollable factors.
Too little rain or too much, too early rain or too late, worm
pests or wild animals, can ruin the year's crop. The villagers
try to insure the risks of a bad year by planting in as many dif-
ferent types of fields as they can. They plant in the hot country
where the crops mature fast, and in the high, cold country where
the maturation process is slow but the corn, of a hardier variety,
is more resistant to weather conditions. They plant irrigated
land to insure water if rain is missing, and in temporal to insure
against the drying up of the sources of irrigated water. But even

241 then, each season is a question mark, an equally unpredictable
433 year of plenty or a lean year.

184 In Amatenango, when the crop fails or is poor, the income
323 of the villagers can be compensated by producing more pottery.
241 This is obviously not so in Aguacatenango. If hunger threatens
433 the families, the result is a higher migration rate or an increase
434 in the number of men leaving town to work part-time in the fincas.
184 The result of having an alternative form of income within the
166 homestead in Amatenango is that the village keeps its income more
464 balanced year after year, and that the village as a whole has a
731 reputation of being richer than the other communities.
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184 In Aguacatenango, the women are an economic burden. The
434 men are very aware that they themselves "do all the work." Women
462 have long and leisurely afternoons which are spent sitting on
562 their porches grooming, chatting, or visiting. Men complain of
this, saying "Women cannot realize how hard a man has to work.
They complain of not having this or that, but they do not know.
. . ." In Amatenango, on the contrary, women are important pro-
ducers, men and women sharing, equally, the responsibility of sup-
porting their families.

Thus, in the one case, Aguacatenango, the work of women
has a marginal, undeterminate value in an economic milieu in which
they have no cultural alternatives to convert their labor into
goods or subsistence necessities; in the other case, Amatenango,
the labor input of women represents about half of the total pro-
ductive efforts of the villagers.

351 When the people in two adjacent sitios have close social
592 ties, they open an interior gate in the common fence, connecting
571 the two yards. June Nash has noticed that if any disagreement
[578] occurs between the people residing in the two contiguous sitios,
the interior gates are barricaded even more strongly than the
remainder of the fence, symbolically severing social communication
(Nash, J: 1959).

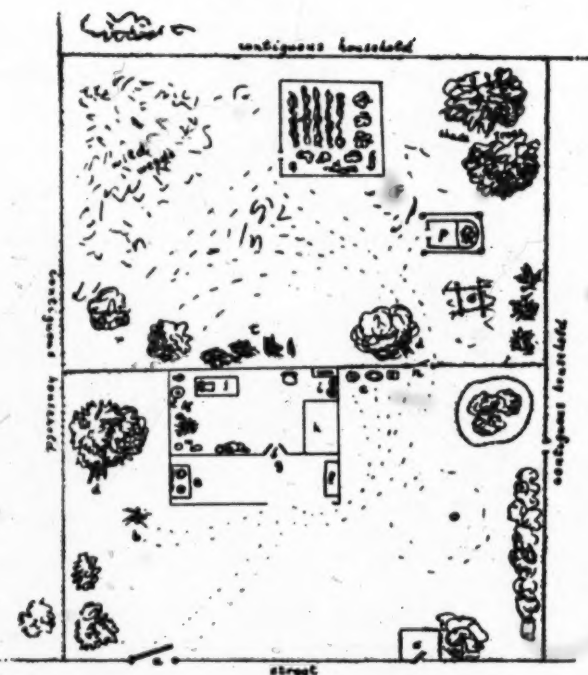
351 Inside the sitios, there are several areas of activity
592 (see Fig. 10): the front yard (ti?naie) where animals are tied
[343] when brought to the sitio, where corn is put to dry, etc., and
[342] where there are buildings (hna) such as the cook-house and others
[241] which serve as sleeping quarters. The back yard is the place
where things are stored and where a small garden is cultivated.
[415] There are other spots, such as the place for the water jugs, the
[252] place for washing the mixtamal (corn mesh used for making tortillas),
[343] the sweat bath, etc.

342 The buildings themselves are mainly wattle and daub with
thatch or palm roofs in the traditional Mayan pattern. There
is, nevertheless, some variation in the use of cane, shingles and
planks for walls, or tile roofs, which indicates a desire to imi-
tate ladino ways rather than the wealth of the household. The
houses have small porches which serve as "living room," places
for receiving visitors, grooming, cleaning corn, or enjoying the
twilight after a good day's work (see Figs. 10 and 11).

House Ritual

342 The building of a new house is an important social event
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Scale: 1/8 of an hectare.
Number of inhabitants: 5.

Fig. 10.--Model of a Standard Household

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|-----------------------------------|------------------------------------|
| a--entrance gate | l--water pot inside the house |
| b--nixtamal washing-pot | m--little stools for seating |
| c--water pots | during meals and stored bags |
| d--chicken coop in a tree | n--gate to back yard |
| e--Saint's altar in the corridor | o--raised pig-pen |
| f--bench for receiving visitors | p--temascal (steam bath) |
| g--double door | q--garden with chillis, and |
| h--wooden bed | "tomatoes" |
| i--petates (mats) chest and chair | r--peach trees |
| j--table for making tortillas | s--pig-pen with gate to the street |
| (with the grinding stone or | t--fire-wood drying |
| metate) | |
| k--molino and fire place | |

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764 People are buried in the cemetery according to the place in which they resided in life. The burial grounds are a small spatial replica of the town itself, the clusters of tombs representing clusters of households of the living.

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184 The agricultural ritual, which in other villages in Chiapas is performed by specialists (rain makers, principales and cabildos de milpa), is in both Amatenango and Aguacatenango, a household affair. It consists of a small ceremony performed in the milpa at planting and harvesting time by the men who have worked the land together, and consists of the lighting of candles and the burning of incense.

592 The household is the stage where the drama of an individual's life is performed, and therefore where a person lives is very crucial.

Household Membership

The placement of a person in a particular homestead is determined by two factors: (1) the domestic unit is composed of a kinship group, and (2) it is the basic unit of production, and of the recruitment of labor. Thus, each individual is placed in a particular household both as a kinsman and as a producer. The two factors are not seen as separate by the villager. The role of a person as a kinsman and the role of a person as a producer are intimately related, but one can express a choice as belonging to the kinship and economic domains, simultaneously, or as belonging alternately to one or the other.

In Amatenango and Aguacatenango, there are two types of households which represent different stages in the development of

592 but it is always built around a core of agnatically related men:
593 a father and his sons, united in their common interest in the
patrimonial land and the fruits of their joint cooperative labor.
To this core of men are attached their children and their wives,
all of whom are dependent on them for their food supply, shelter,
and the satisfaction of most other needs.

621 When a couple moves outside the parental home, the house
591 site that they are given should be contiguous if possible, or as
592 close as there is a place available, to the husband's father's
602 homestead. Thus, ideally, the town should be settled by clusters
of domestic groups forming localized agnatic lines, each contain-
ing a man, his parents, his brothers and his married male sons.
At the same time, one would find out that women, because they
follow their husbands, live much further apart from their agnatic
relatives than men do.

593 After a man moves from his father's household, he is not
591 expected to work the same parcels with his father, but they do
476 share some work in common. Usually (I don't have the exact num-
241 ber of cases, but enough information to suggest that this is the
417 mode), a man and his sons have contiguous milpas that are fenced
together. The fences, which are laboriously built and repaired,
are the communal job of all the men, and save them the time and
effort of building interior separations between the plots, because
the purpose of fencing is to keep cattle from invading the parcels
and without fences it is useless to risk planting.

423 This does not mean that the land is held jointly. Each man
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423 knows his own parcel and its boundaries, which are sometimes
241 marked with a few stones or a less elaborate fence of a few poles.
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241 The men that fence the land together cooperate with each
476 other in some other agricultural tasks which require more than
two hands (e.g., clearing and burning before planting, cleaning
irrigation ditches).

183 Stating the norms of residence in anthropological language,
591 we can say that the generalized residence pattern, if it reflects
the practice of the norms, should be patrilocal for single and
married men, patrilocal for single women, virilocal for married
women and parentilocal for children (see Fig. 13, Fischer's
Typology).

The Residence Patterns

125 To find out how the ideal rules are carried into practice, we analyzed a sample of sixty-eight households containing an average of five people per unit, and a total of 384 individuals. This sample was gathered by the author in the field, in 1958, and covers half of the village in a chess board pattern of blocks (see charts). The data on the sample is complemented by a previous total census of the village, prepared by the Metzgers and the school teacher in 1956, which covered the whole population of the community, but contained less detailed information on some aspects of residence. Both will be augmented by a sample of life histories contained in the field notes.

128 The data will be presented in tables, and in the text, both in number of cases and in relative percentages. When possible,

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[184] The reasons for keeping a son are not as pressing as the reasons for keeping a daughter. Amatenango land holdings are somewhat smaller than Aguacatenango, and the buying and selling of agricultural parcels, as long as it does not involve outsiders to the village, is a common practice which accounts for approximately 16 per cent of land transactions. The

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[178] limited land holding units in Amatenango require minimal cooperation in agriculture. Because of fractured land holdings, fewer than one-half of the households have two tablones . . . of land. Therefore, fewer than one-half the households can keep more than one man actively employed. Even in those households with from two to five tablones, a man and his adult son are sufficient labor for most activities except harvest. Women's pottery production, however, requires frequent cooperation. Two tendencies are reinforcing the cooperation of women, especially of mothers and daughters: (1) with increasing need for cash income to buy products which are not longer produced in the home, or which have been introduced, money is constantly needed. Pottery offers an easy means of acquiring cash with almost immediate returns, and (2) marriages are currently contracted at a later age for girls than formerly. Before, about a generation ago, marriages at the age of eleven or twelve were the rule. Most of the intensive learning of pottery techniques begins at that age. Consequently, pottery was taught to the daughter by the mother-in-law if the girl was married and resided in the husband's house. (See Frans Blom and Oliver LaFarge [1927] who commented that all pottery was taught by the mother-in-law.) Most marriages now are contracted for girls from 14 to 17 years of age. At this time they are already proficient potters, and accustomed to working with their mother. Therefore, there is a greater stress put on their remaining in or near their parental home after marriage (Nash, J., 1960:47).¹

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323 The people of Amatenango recognize that during the period in which a woman learns to make pottery, she establishes particular habits of cooperation and a strong solidarity bond with the woman from whom she learns and with whom she works. "Parents say that there is an advantage in early marriages, in that the girl would be more willing to learn the ways of her mother-in-law if she

[161] ¹It is also important to notice that with the increase in population over the area, the market has increased.

571 and outside the household by the bilateral group of kinsmen of each particular Ego and his or her spouse, which because of the residence pattern, live localized within a neighborhood.

602 In Aguacatenango, on the contrary, most important activi-
592 ties are carried on mainly by agnatically related kin. This, of
562 course, does not mean that matri-kin or affinals are absolutely excluded. But in making decisions for giving or receiving help in work, for example, agnatic kin are preferred, especially for men, because women tend to collaborate mostly with the agnatic kin of their husbands. The reason for this is that activities for women are not determined in terms of the kinship lines, but in terms of household membership: they collaborate with the closest kin of the household in which they reside, and not their own closest kin. A household contributes labor and interacts more often with agnatically linked households than any other.

361 The reason for this difference in emphasis could be said
602 to be a result of the fact that one collaborates more with the
592 people who live the closest. After all, the neighborhood in Aguacatenango tends to be a cluster of agnatically related households. Nash felt that in Amatenango, "because of propinquity alone certain (kinship) relations are emphasized over others" (Nash, J., 1960:130). We disagree with this statement.

[114] In Amatenango, pottery making and corn agriculture are the two principal productive enterprises which affect the organization of the domestic group, including the residence choices, so it is not strange that the neighborhood group (or residence clusters within the barrio), made up according to the criteria of selecting

8: Hunt E-4,5 (1958)1962

NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango
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323 producers for the particular domestic groups, seems to be the
241 originator of bilateral increase in interaction, while it could
433 be equally well said that the bilaterally settled neighborhood in
182 Amatenango is a result of the selection of household personnel
592 along both males' and females' kinsmen lines.
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114 J. Nash (1960) interpreted the bilaterality of Amatenango
602 as being a result of the residence pattern. Nash assumes that
182 kinship and territoriality are two mutually exclusive principles
361 of association, while in reality they are not so. On the one
hand, if territoriality (or the spatial placement of the indi-
vidual in the household) is determined by kinship alignments,
both would tend to be symmetrical; on the other hand, even if
they are not mutually inclusive (which in this case they are),
both are emphasized simultaneously in the same set of choices, so
that the principles of spatial proximity and kinship proximity,
although independent variables, are concomitant in their effects.
Moreover, Nash found out that activities which did not involve
immediate reciprocity followed the kinship line exclusively with-
out reference to territorial propinquity.

121 The danger of assuming that "because of propinquity alone
certain (kinship) relationships are emphasized over others" (Nash,
J., 1960:130) becomes evident in a larger theoretical context. If
residential propinquity tends to set up interaction along bilateral
lines, the opposite, residential dispersion, would tend to em-
phasize interaction among unilineal relatives. Then, all lineally
organized societies ought to be organized in exogamous settlements,
or in a dispersed hamlet pattern, and all large concentrations of

CHAPTER VIII

CONCLUSIONS

42 We can safely arrive at the conclusion that some aspects
43 of the economic system play a very important part in the structur-
182 ing of social relations in the Chiapas communities. The economic
571 factors which are indicated by the natives themselves and have been
184 assessed by us as being crucial correlates of certain patterns of
241 social behavior are:
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(1) The unspecialized agricultural system of one village (Aguacatenango) versus the system of agriculture plus pottery production in the other makes the second one a "richer" town with less wealth fluctuation from year to year.

184 (2) The relative importance of women as bread-winners
182 and producers in the traditional division of labor in one village
462 (Amatenango), results in the fact that labor of women is crucial
592 for the continuity of the domestic group, whereas in Aguacatenango,
562 it is not. This does not mean that Aguacatenango women do not
434 work. It just means that women's work in Aguacatenango, however exhausting, does not have a market in which it can be sold, and it cannot be transformed into subsistence goods or into money, i.e., it has an undeterminate marginal value. This gives the women in one village (Amatenango) economic independence and a higher status

184 vis-à-vis their husbands and male kinmen, while in Aguacatenango,
182 it makes them economically dependent, and subordinates from a jural
462 point of view. In one case females inherit as men do, in the
532 other, inheritance follows a male line. In one case, they control
562 the same property as men do, in the other, they control only
428 marginal property.
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(3) The relative importance of a man's labor versus a
184 woman's labor within the domestic unit affects residence. In
182 Aguacatenango, where all important productive activities are in
462 the hands of men, residence is patri-virilocal, and only males are
434 residence sponsors regularly. In Amatenango, where productive ac-
591 tivities are in the hands of both males and females, residence is
alternately matri-uxorilocal or patri-virilocal, and both males
and females can become residence sponsors. In Amatenango, house-
323 holds that depend more on the women's labor in pottery making are
241 uxorilocal, while households in which the largest part of the do-
mestic group income is derived from agriculture have post-marital
patri-virilocal residence of their members.

184 In Aguacatenango, where all household income is derived
182 from agriculture and residence is patri-virilocal, matri-uxorilo-
434 cality occurs sporadically due to some other economic and non-
591 economic factors: (a) the inheritance of some land in the female
593 line when a daughter structurally replaces a son; (b) the coopera-
428 tive work between father-in-law-son-in-law when they replace the
562 position of father and son for each other; (c) the payment of
602 curing ceremonies and medicines for a sick married woman by her
606 own kin rather than her husband's.
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121 it is impossible to do it taking into account any other variable in isolation. Social structures are built up around several simultaneously activated domains of phenomena. Kinship (or the biological facts of birth and copulation and the concomitant social facts of descent and affinity) is one domain. Economics (or the system for the production and allocation of rights over material goods and services) is another domain. Territorial allegiances, based on spatial proximity or distance, is another. The domain of the psychological (the inherent needs of human beings for sociality, positive affection, the sharing of moral values with other men [and perhaps the need for controlling others]), is still another domain.

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796 If we take ritual as a projective system of the importance of social domains, we can see that it involves, in every case, several of them.

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[241] For example, in Aguacatenango and Amatenango, ritual practices are oriented towards: (1) expressing tensions between individuals among whom harmonic relations are re-established through the curing ceremony; (2) expressing the territorial attachments of people, such as the ceremonies for housewarmings and the fact that in the cemetery people are buried according to the place in which they resided (the cemetery is a small replica of the village); (3) expressing kinship bonds, such as the marriage ceremony, the baptisms and compadrazgos, the food given to the ancestors on Todos Santos, etc.; (4) expressing economic needs, such as the rituals performed to insure the success of the harvest.